

A GRAMMAR AND GLOSSARY
OF THE
CONSERVATIVE ANGLO-WELSH DIALECTS
OF RURAL WALES

edited by

DAVID PARRY

The National Centre for English Cultural Tradition



FIELDWORKERS
RESEARCH
WELSH LANGUAGE
COUNCIL

A GRAMMAR AND GLOSSARY
OF THE
CONSERVATIVE ANGLO-WELSH DIALECTS
OF RURAL WALES

edited by

DAVID PARRY

The National Centre for English Cultural Tradition

© David Parry, 1999
All rights reserved

ISSN 1465-5462

NATCECT Occasional Publications, No. 8

Sheffield, 1999

The National Centre for English Cultural Tradition
The University of Sheffield

FIELDWORKERS

FRANCESCA AYRES

HELEN BARNEY
SUSAN BENNETT
DAVID BLATCHFORD
HELEN BOUDIER
PAUL BROUGH
WILLIAM BUNDY
LYNNE BYFORD

ANNE CHESTERS
PATRICIA CORKHILL

THERESA DACEY
PAT DONOGHUE

VERONICA FRANKLIN

CERI GEORGE
ROBERT GOSS
WILLIAM GOULD

ANTHONY HALLATT
CERI HALLETT
MARTIN HARVEY
SYLVIA HARVEY-BOWERING

MARTIN JENKINS
NIA JONES

JAMES LEDIARD
ELESTR LEE
SALLY LEWIS

ANNE MCGILL
CHRISTINE MORLEY

SHARON O'BRIEN

DAVID PARRY
ROBERT PENHALLURICK
PETER POZMAN

CAROLINE REECE

VANNI SCARFI
HILARY SLIDEL
ANNETTE SPEAR

CLIVE UPTON

MARY WALTERS
GEOFFREY WARREN

FIELDWORKERS

WALTER A. ...
HARRY ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...
WILLIAM ...

To Marion

FOREWORD

The present volume offers an edition of the text collected in the *Journal of Anglo-Saxon Studies* published from the University of Wales, Swansea, from 1967 to 1970. It consists of an introduction and an account of the Proceedings. The original letters and notes of the subjects discussed over the course of the Proceedings, with a list of contributors, were printed in volume 1 of the *Journal*.

It will be evident from the title beginning of the book that the first and greatest debt is to the late Professor Harold Giles, under whose direction I was privileged to study Old English as a graduate student in the Department of English Language and Medieval English Literature at the University of Leeds from 1957 to 1960. And I acknowledge with equal gratitude my debt to Mr. Stanley Galt of the same Department, who supervised the writing of my dissertation, and to the late Dr. Peter Mackenzie of the University's Department of Phonetics, who directed me to some of the outstanding studies and also provided a great deal of personal help in my studies.

It will be equally obvious that anyone whose work is based upon material would be interviewing members of the public that owe an acknowledgment not to their informants for providing the information, but to the researcher. And when one has depended on the assistance of other fieldworkers in going out and doing the interviewing, one owes more to them, too, than to one's own words. And so I attach my thanks to all those people who agreed to be informants for me, the use of Anglo-Wales Journals, to all who helped to locate those informants, and to all the living fieldworkers, whose names appear at the front of this volume.

The late Professor Carl Price, under whose work and helpful advice and encouragement from the members of the Society I worked in the Department of English Language and Literature, of which he was head, at the University of Wales, Swansea, Mr. Colin W. Jones, of the same Department, who assisted me in many matters with matters of Welsh phonology and lexis, and also took me to the homes of the informants, whose assistance he had secured on my behalf, as one of the most helpful assistants, Professor Alan Thomas, of the Department of Linguistics at University College, Swansea, who gave me much useful information and advice over the years, his constant and helpful presence the first informant, Mr. Galt, and the late Professor Sir Mervyn Jones of the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Cardiff, of Dr. Michael Barry and Dr. John Kelly, both of the Department of English at the Queen's University Belfast, and of Dr. Graham Mitchell, of the Department of English at Memorial University, St. John's, Nfld.

It is a pleasure also to be able to attach my thanks to the *Journal* Editor, Miss Helen, and to the *Journal*'s designers, for access to the journal's computer and to the excellent facilities of the library during the preparation of an earlier draft of this present volume.

Finally, we very gratefully acknowledge the help of Marion, for her constant and disinterested support in the task, as it always was.

David Price
London, November 1971

FOREWORD

The present volume offers an analysis of the data collected in the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects, conducted from the University of Wales, Swansea from 1968 onwards. It contains an Introduction and an account of the Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Lexis of 90 dialects distributed over the whole of the Principality, with a set of distribution-maps showing a selection of the data presented.

It will be obvious from the very beginning of the book that my first and greatest debt is to the late Professor Harold Orton, under whose direction I was privileged to study Dialectology as a graduate student in the Department of English Language and Medieval English Literature at the University of Leeds from 1959 to 1961. And I acknowledge with equal gratitude my debt to Mr Stanley Ellis M.A., of the same Department, who supervised the writing of my dissertation, and to the late Mr Peter MacCarthy, of the University's Department of Phonetics, who allowed me to attend his undergraduate classes and also gave me a great deal of personal help in my studies.

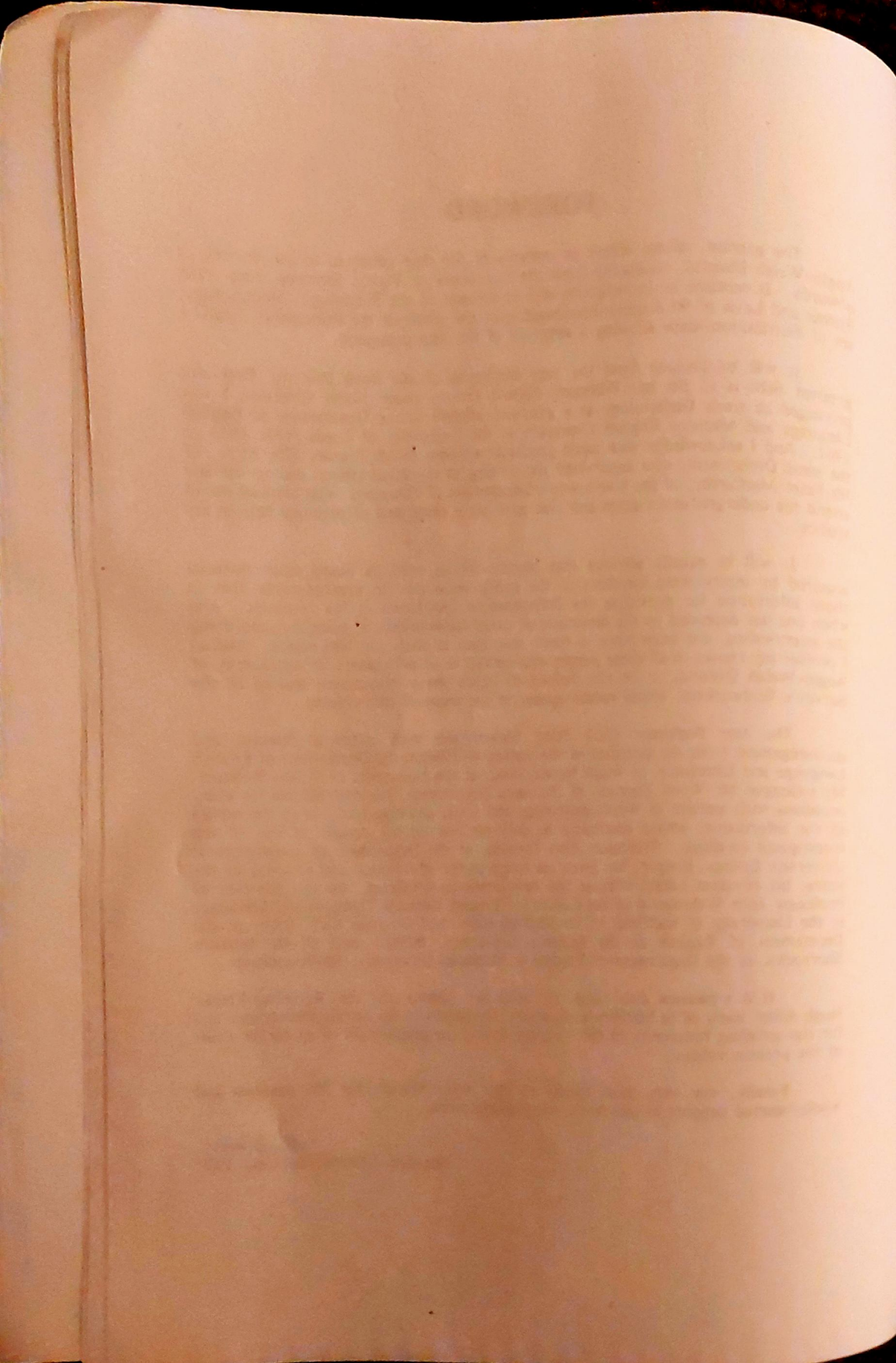
It will be equally obvious that anyone whose work is based upon material acquired by interviewing members of the public must owe an immeasurable debt to those informants for providing the indispensable foundation of his research. And when one has depended on the assistance of other fieldworkers in going out and doing the interviewing, one owes more to them, too, than is easily put into words. And so I proffer my thanks to all those people who agreed to be informants for the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects, to all who helped to locate these informants, and to all the Survey's fieldworkers, whose names appear at the front of this volume.

The late Professor Cecil Price backed me with unfailing interest and encouragement from the inception of the Survey in 1968 in the Department of English Language and Literature, of which he was head, at the University of Wales, Swansea. My colleague Mr Wynn Thomas, of the same Department, has assisted me on many occasions with matters of Welsh phonology and lexis, and also took me to the homes of the informants, whose assistance he had secured on my behalf, at one of the investigated localities. Professor Alan Thomas, of the Department of Linguistics at University College, Bangor, has given me much useful information and advice over the years; his constant kindly interest has been immensely helpful. So too has that of Professor John Widdowson of the Centre for English Cultural Tradition and Language at the University of Sheffield; of Dr Michael Barry and Dr John Kirk, both of the Department of English at the Queen's University, Belfast; and of Dr Graham Shorrocks, of the Department of English at Memorial University, Newfoundland.

It is a pleasant duty also to offer my thanks to the Reverend Father Hugh Allen, lately of St Matthew's, Newport, for access to the parish photocopier and for the unfailing hospitality of the Vicarage during the preparation of an earlier draft of the present volume.

Finally, my very best thanks to my wife, Marion, for her constant and whole-hearted support in this work, as in all my work.

David Parry.
Maindee, Newport-on-Usk, 1997



CONTENTS

Map Showing Positions of the Investigated Localities	(ii)
List of the Anglo-Welsh Localities Investigated	(iii)
Map Showing Percentage of Informants who were habitually Welsh-speaking	(iv)
List of Points of Inquiry used in <i>The Linguistic Geography of Wales (LGW)</i>	(v)
List of Localities Included in the Survey of English Dialects (SED)	(vii)
Map Showing County-boundaries of England and Wales after 1974	(xi)
List of Phonetic and Other Symbols Employed	(xii)
Abbreviations	(xiii)
PART ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
PART TWO: PHONOLOGY	8
(i) Introduction	8
(ii) An Outline of the Sounds of Anglo- Welsh	13
(iii) The Sound-Systems of Each of the Investigated Anglo-Welsh Dialects	43
(iv) Phonological Index of the Forms of the 144 Selected Words	90
PART THREE: MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX	105
PART FOUR: GLOSSARY	121
PART FIVE: MAPS	202
Appendix A: Further Notes on the Phonetic Transcription Employed in the Present Work	308
Appendix B: List of Words Cited in Part Two, Grouped According to the Middle English Sounds of which they contain Reflexes	311
List of Maps	314
Index	316
Bibliographical References	322



MAP SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF INFORMANTS WHO WERE HABITUALLY WELSH-SPEAKING

At the localities in the area marked E, as also at the locality marked ●, none of the informants was habitually Welsh-speaking. At the localities marked ■, 20-25% were habitually Welsh-speaking; at the localities marked ▲, 33-40% were; at those marked ▼, 50-60%; at those marked ◆, 75-80%. At all other localities within the area marked W, all the informants were habitually Welsh-speaking.

LIST OF POINTS OF INQUIRY USED IN THE LINGUISTIC GEOGRAPHY OF WALES (LGW)

The following are listed in A.R. Thomas, *The Linguistic Geography of Wales*, as the code-numbers of the localities of which the Welsh dialects were investigated, along with grid-references on the Ordnance Survey one-inch map (6th edition).

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 Llaneilian 23/4692
 2 Llanrhuuddlad 23/3389
 3 Llanfair-yn-Neubwll 23/3076
 4 Pentre Berw 23/4772
 5 Llangoed 23/6079
 6 Caernarfon 23/4762
 7 Port Dinorwic 23/5267
 8 Bangor 23/5872
 9 Aber 23/6572</p> <p>10 Dwygyfylchi 23/7176
 11 Bethesda 23/6266
 12 Llanberis 23/5760
 13 Waunfawr 23/5259
 13/1 Bryn'refail 23/5662
 14 Llanllynfi 23/4751
 15 Llanhaearn 23/3844
 16 Nefyn 23/3040
 17 Aberdaron 23/1726
 18 Llanengan 23/2926
 19 Abererch 23/3936</p> <p>20 Garndolbenmaen 23/4944
 21 Beddgelert 23/5948
 22 Porthmadog 23/5638
 23 Eglwys-bach 23/8070
 24 Dolgarrog 23/7667
 25 Capel Curig 23/7258
 26 Penmachno 23/7950
 27 Llaneilian-yn-Rhos
 23/8676
 28 Betws-yn-Rhos 23/9073
 29 Llanefydd 23/9870</p> <p>30 Gwytherin 23/8761
 31 Penycefn 23/9365
 32 Rhuddlan 33/0278
 33 Bontuchel 33/0875
 34 Llanasa 33/1081
 35 Bagillt 33/2275
 37 Bodfari 33/0970
 38 Treuddyn 33/2558
 39 Pentrefoelas 23/8571</p> <p>40 Cerrigydrudion 23/9584
 41 Derwen 33/0750
 42 Llandegla 33/1952
 43 Bwlchgwyn 33/2653</p> | <p>44 Llangollen 33/2142
 45 Froncysylltau 33/2640
 46 Rhosllanerchrugog 33/2946
 47 Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog 33 1532
 48 Llansanffraid Glyn-ceiriog 33 2038
 49 Rhydycroesau 33/2430</p> <p>50 Llansilin 33/2028
 51 Rhydychaf 23/9037
 52 Glanrafon (Corwen) 33 0734
 53 Llandderfel 23/9837
 54 Blaenau Ffestiniog 23 7045
 55 Trawsfynydd 23/7035
 56 Harlech 23/5831
 57 Berth-ddu 23/7033
 58 Llanuwchllyn 23/8730
 59 Llanfachreth 23/7522</p> <p>60 Abermo 23/6115
 61 Dolgellau 23/7217
 62 Aberangell 23/8410
 63 Llanymawddwy 23/9019
 64 Llangynog 23/0526
 65 Llanrhaeadr-ym-Mochnant 33 2226
 66 Llangedwyn 33/1824
 67 Nantmawr 33/2624
 68 Llanwddyn 33/0219
 69 Llanfyllin 33/1419</p> <p>70 Llansanffraid-ym-Mechain 33 2120
 71 Llangadfan 33/0110
 72 Meifod 33/1513
 73 Llwyngwril 23/5909
 74 Aberdyfi 22/6195
 75 Machynlleth 23/7400
 76 Llanbryn-mair 23/8800
 77 Carno 22/9696
 78 Adfa 32/1091
 79 Staylittle 22/8892</p> <p>80 Trefeglwys 22/9790
 81 Caersws 32/0391
 83 Tal-y-Bont 22/6589
 84 Capel Bangor 22/6580
 85 Ponterwyd 22/7480
 86 Llangurig 22/9079
 87 Ysbyty Ystwyth 22/7371
 88 Llanilar 22/6275</p> |
|---|--|

- 89 Ffair-Rhos 22/7368
- 90 Llangwryton 22/5970
- 91 Blaenpennal 22/6165
- 92 Cilcennin 22/5260
- 93 Llanarth 22/4257
- 94 Llanddewibrefi 22/6655
- 95 Aber-porth 22/2651
- 96 Talgarreg 22/4251
- 97 Llanwnnen 22/5347
- 100 Llandygwydd 22/2443
- 101 Troed-yr-Aur 22/3245
- 102 Llandysul 22/4140
- 103 Rhydcymerau 22/5738
- 104 Caeo 22/6739
- 105 Rhandirmwyn 22/7843
- 106 Llanlair-ar-y-bryn 22/8839
- 107 Llandeilo-ran 22/8934
- 108 Merthyr Cynog 22/9837
- 110 Llanwnda 12/9339
- 111 Cwm Gwaun 22/0035
- 112 Dinas 22/0138
- 113 Tretdraeth 22/0539
- 114 Brynberian 22/1035
- 115 Boncath 22/2038
- 116 Llantfyrnach 22/2231
- 117 Cwmorgan 22/2934
- 118 Cynwyl Elfed 22/3727
- 119 Brechfa 22/5230
- 120 Talylychau 22/6332
- 121 Llangadog 22/7028
- 122 Llanddeusant 22/7724
- 123 Haltway 22/8232
- 124 Cwmwysg 22/8828
- 125 Crai 22/8924
- 126 Heolsenni 22/9223
- 127 Libanus 22/9925
- 128 Llangynidr 32/1519
- 129 Trefin 12/8432
- 130 Jordanston 12/9132
- 131 Tyddewi 12/7525
- 132 Carnhedryn 12/7927
- 133 Solfach 12/8024
- 134 Cas-lai 12/8925
- 135 Cas-blaidd 12/9526
- 135/1 Walton East 22/0223
- 136 Maenclochog 22/0827
- 137 Clunderwen 22/1219
- 138 Llanboidy 22/2123
- 139 Llanddowror 22/2514
- 140 Meidrim 22/2820
- 141 Llan-y-bri 22/3312
- 142 Llan-gain 22/3815
- 144 Llanegwad 22/5121
- 145 Llanddarog 22/5016
- 146 Rhos-maen 22/6423
- 147 Capel Gwynfe 22/7221
- 149 Llandyfaelog 22/4111
- 150 Pontyberem 22/5011
- 151 Penygroes 22/5813
- 152 Cwmgwili 22/5710
- 153 Felin-foel 22/5102
- 154 Bynea 22/5499
- 156 Felindre 22/6302
- 157 Cwmgors 22/7010
- 158 Cwmllynfell 22/7412
- 159 Heol-las 21/6998
- 161 Sgiwen 21/7297
- 162 Tonna 21/7798
- 163 Creunant 22/7904
- 164 Onllwyn 22/8410
- 165 Aber-craf 22/8212
- 166 Cwmgwrach 22/8605
- 167 Ystradfellte 22/9313
- 168 Penderyn 22/9408
- 169 Pyle 21/8282
- 170 Llangynwyd 21/8588
- 171 Blaengwynfi 21/8996
- 172 Nantymoel 21/9392
- 173 Cwmparc 21/9495
- 174 Tonyrefail 31/0188
- 175 Pen-tyrch 31/1081
- 176 Aberdâr 32/0002
- 177 Ferndale 31/0097
- 178 Abercynon 31/0894
- 179 Abercannaid 32/0503
- 180 Bedlinog 32/0901
- 181 Bargod 31/1499
- 182 Foehrhiw 32/1005

Points of inquiry nos. 36, 82, 98, 99, 109, 143, 148, 155, 160 were eliminated during the course of the inquiry, and nos. 13/1 and 135/1 added.

LIST OF LOCALITIES INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY OF ENGLISH DIALECTS (SED)

Please note: In *SED*, the investigated localities have code-numbers consisting in county-number + county-abbreviation + locality-number. For instance, EARSDON, locality 6 in Northumberland, which is county number 1, has the code 1 Nb 6. In the main text of the present work, references to localities in the *SED* network are made by citing just the county-abbreviation and the locality-number. Hence Earsdon is cited as Nb 6.

The complete list of the localities included in the *SED* network is reproduced below.

1 Nb NORTHUMBERLAND

- 1 Lowick
- 2 Embleton
- 3 Thropton
- 4 Ellington
- 5 Wark
- 6 Earsdon
- 7 Haltwhistle
- 8 Heddon-on-the-Wall
- 9 Allendale

2 Cu CUMBERLAND

- 1 Longtown
- 2 Abbeytown
- 3 Brigham
- 4 Threlkeld
- 5 Hunsonby
- 6 Gosforth

3 Du DURHAM

- 1 Washington
- 2 Ebchester
- 3 Wearhead
- 4 Witton-le-Wear
- 5 Bishop Middleham
- 6 Eggleston

4 We WESTMORLAND

- 1 Great Strickland
- 2 Patterdale
- 3 Soulby
- 4 Staveley-in-Kendal

5 La LANCASHIRE

- 1 Coniston
- 2 Cartmel
- 3 Yealand
- 4 Dolphinhome
- 5 Fleetwood
- 6 Pilling

- 7 Thistleton
- 8 Ribchester
- 9 Read
- 10 Marshside
- 11 Ecclestone
- 12 Harwood
- 13 Bickerstaffe
- 14 Halewood

6 Y YORKSHIRE

- 1 Helsonby
- 2 Stokesley
- 3 Skelton
- 4 Egton
- 5 Dent
- 6 Muker
- 7 Askrigg
- 8 Bedale
- 9 Borrowby
- 10 Helmsley
- 11 Rillington
- 12 Burton-in-Lonsdale
- 13 Horton-in-Ribblesdale
- 14 Grassington
- 15 Pateley Bridge
- 16 Easingwold
- 17 Gargrave
- 18 Spofforth
- 19 York
- 20 Nafferton
- 21 Heptonstall
- 22 Wibsey
- 23 Leeds
- 24 Cawood
- 25 Newbald
- 26 Thornhill
- 27 Carleton
- 28 Welwick
- 29 Golcar
- 30 Holmbridge
- 31 Skelmanthorpe
- 32 Ecclestone
- 33 Tickhill
- 34 Sheffield

6A Man ISLE OF MAN

- 1 Andreas
- 2 Ronague

7 Ch CHESHIRE

- 1 Kingsley
- 2 Rainow
- 3 Swettenham
- 4 Frandon
- 5 Audlem
- 6 Hanmer (Clwyd)

8 Db DERBYSHIRE

- 1 Charlesworth
- 2 Bamford
- 3 Burbage
- 4 Youlgreave
- 5 Stonebroom
- 6 Kniveton
- 7 Sutton-on-the-Hill

9 Nt NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

- 1 North Wheatley
- 2 Cuckney
- 3 South Clifton
- 4 Oxton

10 L LINCOLNSHIRE

- 1 Eastoft
- 2 Saxby
- 3 Keelby
- 4 Willoughton
- 5 Tealby
- 6 Wragby
- 7 Swaby
- 8 Old Bolingbroke
- 9 Scopwick
- 10 Beckingham
- 11 Fulbeck
- 12 Sutterton
- 13 Swinstead
- 14 Luton
- 15 Crowland

11 Sa SHROPSHIRE

- 1 Weston Rhyn
- 2 Prees
- 3 Llanymynech
- 4 Montford
- 5 Kinnersley
- 6 Chirbury
- 7 All Stretton

- 8 Hilton
- 9 Clun
- 10 Diddlebury
- 11 Kinlet

12 St STAFFORDSHIRE

- 1 Warslow
- 2 Mow Cop
- 3 Alton
- 4 Barlaston
- 5 Ellenhall
- 6 Hoar Cross
- 7 Mavesyn Ridware
- 8 Lapley
- 9 Edingale
- 10 Wigginton
- 11 Himley

13 Lei LEICESTERSHIRE

- 1 Harby
- 2 Hathern
- 3 Seagrave
- 4 Packington
- 5 Markfield
- 6 Great Dalby
- 7 Sheepy Magna
- 8 Goadby
- 9 Carlton Curlieu
- 10 Ullesthorpe

14 R RUTLAND

- 1 Empingham
- 2 Lyddington

15 He HEREFORDSHIRE

- 1 Brimfield
- 2 Weobley
- 3 Cradley
- 4 Checkley
- 5 Longtown
- 6 Whitchurch
- 7 Lyonshall

16 Wo WORCESTERSHIRE

- 1 Romsley
- 2 Hartlebury
- 3 Hanbury
- 4 Clifton on Teme
- 5 Earls Croome
- 6 Offenham
- 7 Bretforton

17 Wa WARWICKSHIRE

- 1 Nether Whitacre
- 2 Hockley Heath
- 3 Stoneleigh
- 4 Napton-on-the-Hill
- 5 Aston Cantlow
- 6 Lighthorne
- 7 Shipston-on-Stour

18 Nth NORTHAMPTONSHIRE

- 1 Warmington
- 2 Welford
- 3 Little Harrowden
- 4 Kislingbury
- 5 Sulgrave

19 Hu HUNTINGDONSHIRE

- 1 Warboys
- 2 Kimbolton

20 C CAMBRIDGESHIRE

- 1 Little Downham
- 2 Elsworth

21 Nf NORFOLK

- 1 Docking
- 2 Great Snoring
- 3 Blickling
- 4 Grimston
- 5 North Elmham
- 6 Ludham
- 7 Outwell
- 8 Gooderstone
- 9 Shipdham
- 10 Ashwellthorpe
- 11 Reedham
- 12 Pulham St Mary the Virgin
- 13 Garboldisham

22 Sf SUFFOLK

- 1 Tuddenham
- 2 Mendlesham
- 3 Yoxford
- 4 Kedlington
- 5 Kersey

23 Mon MONMOUTHSHIRE

- 1 Skenfrith
- 2 Llanellen
- 3 Raglan
- 4 Cross Keys

- 5 Llanfrechfa
- 6 Shirenewton
- 7 Newport

24 Gl GLOUCESTERSHIRE

- 1 Deerhurst
- 2 Gretton
- 3 Bream
- 4 Whiteshill
- 5 Sherborne
- 6 Slimbridge
- 7 Latteridge

25 Ox OXFORDSHIRE

- 1 Kingham
- 2 Steeple Aston
- 3 Islip
- 4 Eynsham
- 5 Cuxham
- 6 Binfield Heath

26 Bk BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

- 1 Tingeswick
- 2 Stewkley
- 3 Long Crendon
- 4 Buckland
- 5 Coleshill
- 6 Horton

27 Bd BEDFORDSHIRE

- 1 Turvey
- 2 Great Barford
- 3 Harlington

28 Hrt HERTFORDSHIRE

- 1 Therfield
- 2 Codicote
- 3 Wheathampstead

29 Ess ESSEX

- 1 Great Chesterford
- 2 Belchamp Walter
- 3 Cornish Hall End
- 4 Henham
- 5 Stisted
- 6 West Bergholt
- 7 Little Bentley
- 8 High Easter
- 9 Tiptree
- 10 East Mersea
- 11 Nettleswell
- 12 Little Baddow

- 13 Trillickham
- 14 Dodinghurst
- 15 Canewdon

30 MxL MIDDLESEX LONDON

- 1 Harmondsworth
- 2 Hackney

31 So SOMERSET

- 1 Weston
- 2 Blagdon
- 3 Wedmore
- 4 Coleford
- 5 Wooton Courtenay
- 6 Stogursey
- 7 Stogumber
- 8 Withypool
- 9 Brompton Regis
- 10 Stoke St Gregory
- 11 Horsington
- 12 Pitminster
- 13 Merriott

32 W WILTSHIRE

- 1 Ashton Keynes
- 2 Sutton Benger
- 3 Avebury
- 4 Burbage
- 5 Steeple Ashton
- 6 Netheravon
- 7 Sutton Veny
- 8 Fovant
- 9 Whiteparish

33 Brk BERKSHIRE

- 1 Buckland
- 2 Uffington
- 3 West Ilsley
- 4 Inkpen
- 5 Swallowfield

34 Sr SURREY

- 1 Walton-on-the-Hill
- 2 East Clandon
- 3 Coldharbour
- 4 Outwood
- 5 Thursley

35 K KENT

- 1 Stoke
- 2 Franingham
- 3 Staple

- 4 Warren Street
- 5 Denton
- 6 Goudhurst
- 7 Appledore

36 Co CORNWALL

- 1 Kilhampton
- 2 Altarnum
- 3 Egloshayle
- 4 St Ewe
- 5 Gwinear
- 6 St Buryan
- 7 Mullion

37 D DEVON

- 1 Parracombe
- 2 Swimbridge
- 3 Weare Gifford
- 4 Chawleigh
- 5 Gittisham
- 6 South Zeal
- 7 Kennford
- 8 Peter Tavy
- 9 Widdicombe
- 10 Cornwood
- 11 Blackawton

38 Do DORSET

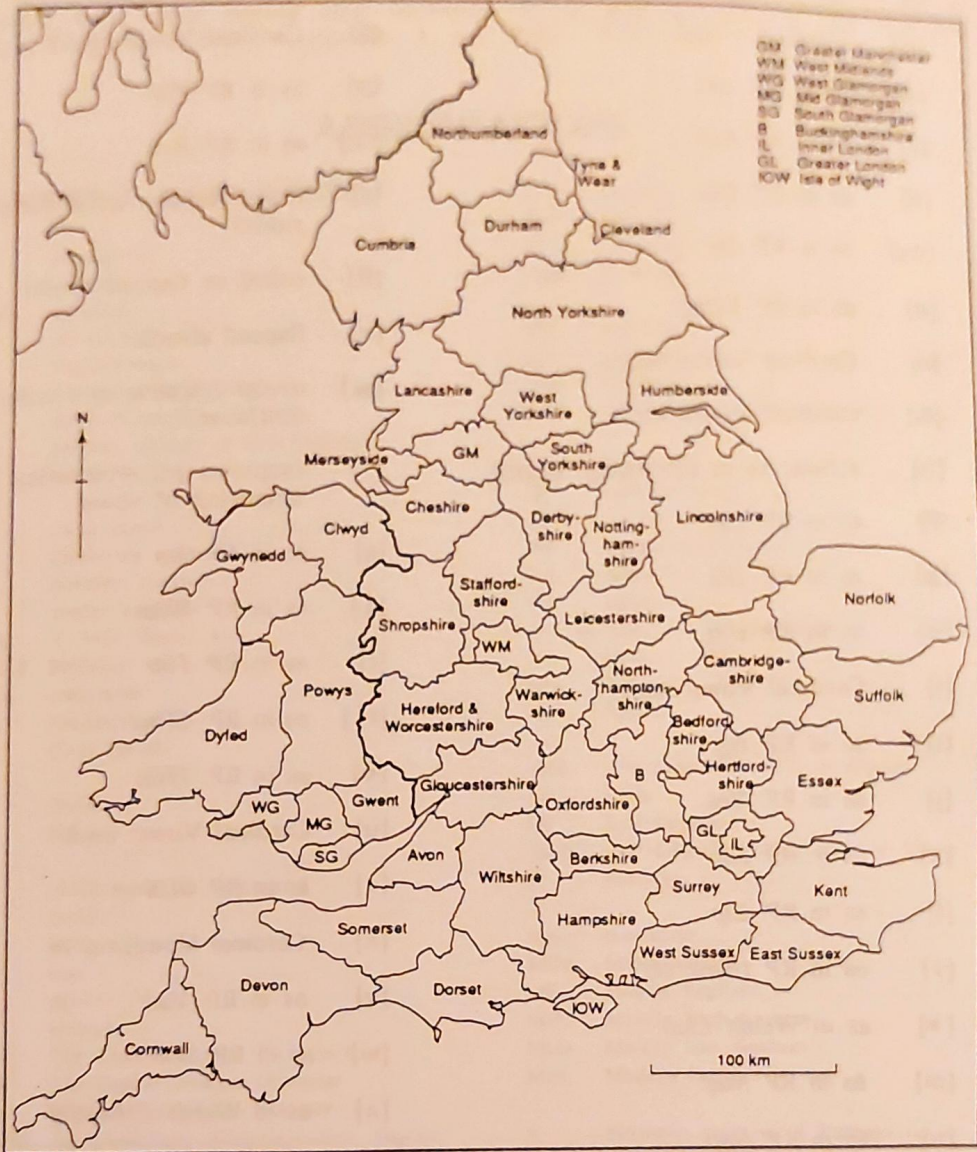
- 1 Handley
- 2 Ansty
- 3 Whitchurch Canonicorum
- 4 Portesham
- 5 Kingston

39 Ha HAMPSHIRE

- 1 Hatherden
- 2 Oakley
- 3 King's Sombourne
- 4 Alresford
- 5 Hambledon
- 6 Burley
- 7 Whitwell (Isle of Wight)

40 Sx SUSSEX

- 1 Warnham
- 2 East Harting
- 3 Sutton
- 4 Fletching
- 5 Horam
- 6 Firele



The County-Boundaries of England and Wales after 1974

LIST OF PHONETIC AND OTHER SYMBOLS EMPLOYED

- [a] Cardinal Vowel no.4
- [ɑ] Cardinal Vowel no.5
- [æ] as in RP cAt
- [b] as in RP Bun
- [d] as in RP Din
- [dʒ] as in RP Jig
- [ð] as in RP THen
- [e] Cardinal Vowel no.2
- [ɛ] Cardinal Vowel no.3
- [ə] schwa, as in RP Along, lettER
- [f] as in RP Fin
- [g] as in RP fiG
- [h] as in RP Hat
- [i] Cardinal Vowel no.1
- [ɪ] as in RP flg
- [j] as in RP Yes
- [k] as in RP Kin
- [l] as in RP Lip
- [ɫ] as in RP thankfuL
- [ɮ] as in Welsh Llan
- [m] as in RP Map
- [n] as in RP Nap
- [ŋ] as in RP riNG
- [o] Cardinal Vowel no.7
- [œ] Cardinal Vowel no.11
- [ø] Cardinal Vowel no.10
- [ɔ] Cardinal Vowel no.6
- [ɒ] Cardinal Vowel no.13
- [ɤ] Cardinal Vowel no.15
- [p] as in RP Pin
- [ɹ] as in RP Run
- [r] rolled alveolar as in Welsh paRod
- [R] rolled or flapped uvular
- [r̥] flapped alveolar
- [ʁ] uvular fricative or frictionless continuant
- [ɽ] (superscript) = retroflex r-colouring of vowel
- [s] as in RP Sin
- [ʃ] as in RP SHin
- [t] as in RP Tin
- [tʃ] as in RP CHin
- [θ] as in RP THin
- [u] Cardinal Vowel no.8
- [ʊ] as in RP bUll
- [ʌ] Cardinal Vowel no.14
- [v] as in RP Van
- [w] as in RP Win
- [x] as in Welsh CHweCH
- [z] as in RP Zoo
- [ʒ] as in RP meaSure
- [:] indicates lengthening of the preceding sound
- ['] indicates that the immediately following syllable has strong stress, e.g. [im'plai] imply

NOTES ON THE PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

All varieties of [ø(:)] and [œ(:)] that appeared in the fieldworkers' original transcriptions of the data are here generalised under the notation [œ(:)]. Also, diphthongs originally written with first elements containing raised centralised [ʌ] are merged with those having first elements in [ə] and are written [əi] and [əu] respectively. See, further, Appendix A, pp. 308ff.

ABBREVIATIONS

(i) GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	accusative
adj.	adjective
adop.	adoption
adv.	adverb
AF	Anglo-French
A.L.O.	A Lloyd Oakley, Esq.
AN	Anglo-Norman
Ang.	Anglian (dialect of Old English)
AW	Anglo-Welsh
c.	<i>circa</i> 'about'
c.	(following cardinal number) century
cf.	<i>confer</i> 'compare'
C.I.G.	C. Ivor Gould, Esq.
C.J.L.P.	Professor C.J.L.Price
comp.	compound
conj.	conjunction
C.P.	Civil Parish
Da.	Danish
Du.	Dutch
e	(with names of languages) early
e	(with names of counties) east
ed.	editor
edd.	editors
EDD	<i>The English Dialect Dictionary</i>
EDG	<i>The English Dialect Grammar</i>
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> 'for example'
EHNEG	<i>An Elementary Historical New English Grammar</i>
EM	East Midland counties of England (as defined in <i>SED</i>)
EMEG	<i>An Elementary Middle English Grammar</i>
Eng.	England, English
esp.	especially
etym.	etymology
exc.	except

F	French
fem.	feminine
ff.	following
Flem.	Flemish
gen.	genitive
gen.	general
Gmn	German
GPC	<i>Y Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i>
Icel.	Icelandic
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	<i>id est</i> 'that is'
IM	Incidental Material
inc.	including
inf.	infinitive
<i>int. al.</i>	<i>inter alia</i> 'among others'
Ir.	Irish
Irel	Ireland
It.	Italian
LAE	<i>The Linguistic Atlas of England</i>
Lat.	Latin
LG	Low German
LGW	<i>The Linguistic Geography of Wales</i>
lit.	literally
masc.	masculine
MDu	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
MnE	Modern English
N	Northern counties of England (as defined in <i>SED</i>)
n	(with names of counties or countries) north
n.	noun
neg.	negative
NMM	Non-Morphological Material (see §3.1)
nom.	nominative
n.pl.	noun plural
NSM	Non-Syntactical Material (see §3.1)

obj	object, objective
OED	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology</i>
OE	Old English
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OF	Old French
(O)F	Old and Modern French
OHG	Old High German
Olcel	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Irish
OLG	Old Low German
ON	Old Norse
ONF	Old Norman French
orig	original(ly)
p	page
pa pple	past participle
pa t	past tense
perh	perhaps
pl	plural
pop	population
poss	possessive
pp	pages
prep	preposition
prob	probably
pron	pronoun
pr pple	present participle
pr t.	present tense
Qr	Questionnaire
q v.	<i>quod vide</i> 'which see'
R.D.	Rural District
R.E.	Rena Edwards
rel	relative
S	Southern counties of England (as defined in <i>SED</i>)
s	(with names of counties or countries) south
SAWD	Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects
Scot	Scotland
<i>SED</i>	<i>The Survey of English Dialects</i>
sg	singular
Sp.	Spanish
· spkg	speaking
str.	stressed
sup	superlative
s v.	<i>sub voce</i> 'under the word'
unkn	unknown
unstr.	unstressed
v	verb
v. i.	verb intransitive
viz	<i>videlicet</i> 'namely'
V.J.	Miss V. James
v. t.	verb transitive

W	Welsh
W	Wiltshire
w	(with names of counties of countries) west
WGE	<i>A Word Geography of England</i>
WGmc	West Germanic
WM	West Midland counties of England (as defined in <i>SED</i>)

NOTE

Some of the above abbreviations are often combined, e.g. 'ne' with the name of a county = 'north-east'; 'pa.t.sg.' = 'past tense singular'.

1sg. = first person singular
2sg. = second person singular, etc.

(ii) ABBREVIATIONS OF THE NAMES OF COUNTIES

A. WALES

* indicates names used prior to 1974

*Ang	Anglesey
*Bre	Breconshire
*Caern	Caernarvonshire
*Cdg	Cardiganshire
Cl	Clwyd
*Cth	Carmarthenshire
*Dnb	Denbighshire
Dy	Dyfed
*Fli	Flintshire
*Gmg	Glamorganshire
Gn	Gwynedd
Gw	Gwent
*Mer	Merioneth
MG	Mid Glamorgan
*Mon	Monmouthshire
*Mtg	Montgomeryshire
P	Powys
*Pem	Pembrokeshire
*Rdn	Radnorshire
SG	South Glamorgan
WG	West Glamorgan

B. ENGLAND

(all as used prior to 1974 and in *SED*)

Bd Bedfordshire
 Bk Buckinghamshire
 Brk Berkshire

C Cambridgeshire
 Ch Cheshire
 Co Cornwall
 Cu Cumberland

D Devon
 Db Derbyshire
 Do Dorset
 Du Durham

Ess Essex
 Gl Gloucestershire

Ha Hampshire
 He Herefordshire
 Hrt Hertfordshire
 Hu Huntingdonshire

K Kent

L Lincolnshire
 La Lancashire
 Lei Leicestershire

Man Isle of Man
 Mon Monmouthshire
 MxL Middlesex: London

Nb Northumberland
 Nf Norfolk
 Ni Nottinghamshire
 Nth Northamptonshire

Ox Oxfordshire

R Rutland

Sa Shropshire
 Sf Suffolk
 So Somerset
 Sr Surrey
 St Staffordshire
 Sx Sussex

W Wiltshire
 Wa Warwickshire

We Westmorland
 Wo Worcestershire

Y Yorkshire

The following, also, are employed in distribution-lists:

EM = the East Midland counties of England as defined in *SED*, viz. Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Essex and Middlesex (London)

N = the six Northern counties of England as defined in *SED*, viz. Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmorland, Lancashire, Yorkshire

S = the Southern counties of England as defined in *SED*, viz. Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Kent, Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire and Sussex

WM = The West Midland counties of England as defined in *SED*, viz. Cheshire, Derbyshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Monmouthshire (now Gwent, part of Wales), Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.

C. SCOTLAND

Abd Aberdeenshire
 Ayr Ayrshire

Cai Caithness

Dmb Dumbartonshire

Fif Fifeshire
 Frf Forfar

Gall Galloway

Kcb Kirkcudbright

Lnk Lanarkshire

Peb Peebles
 Per Perthshire

Rxb Roxburghshire



PART ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 This book is about the conservative dialects of English spoken by elderly natives of (mainly) rural areas of Wales in the mid to late twentieth century. The material it contains is drawn from the files of the Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects, conducted from the University of Wales, Swansea, under the direction of the present writer. This material was obtained by recording, both electronically and in the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, the speech of natives of 90 localities in Wales. These informants were chosen because they fulfilled all or most of the following criteria:

- (i) aged over 60;
- (ii) knowledgeable about agricultural life and work;
- (iii) not formally educated beyond the age of 15;
- (iv) resident in the native area without significant interruption;
- (v) free from speech impediments.

The complete corpus of material obtained at each locality consisted in (a) responses to the items contained in the *Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects Questionnaire* (Chesters, Upton and Parry 1968) and (b) "Incidental Material", i.e. significant items occurring in the informants' conversation that, although not specifically asked for in the *Questionnaire*, did appear to bear upon the linguistic matters under investigation. The selection of the localities where investigations were carried out was determined mainly by their geographical position (both isolatively and relatively to each other), their population figures, and the predominant local occupation. Ideally (since many of the questions posed to the informants were about agricultural matters) only rural localities should have been investigated, each one so isolated that any external influences (except those of radio and television) could have only minimal significance. A population figure of 500 to 1000 would suggest a place large enough to have

an established local dialect but small enough to preclude the development of significant linguistic sub-divisions, especially of course if this small isolated population were a relatively stable one. Turning to realities, however, it became clear that any attempt to adhere to such ideal conditions would leave large gaps in the network of investigated localities. And so the fieldworkers often had to include places with fewer than the optimal number of inhabitants (e.g. Painscastle, Powys, population 113), places with more than that optimal number (e.g. Resolven, population 2460), and places where little or no farming takes place (e.g. Porth in the Rhondda Valley) and in which some items in the Questionnaire had perforce to be left unasked.

From what is said above, it will be clear that our Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects owes its methods to the Dieth-Orton *Survey of English Dialects*, a chief aim of the former being to provide material for Wales that is directly comparable with that obtained in England (except that the investigations in England were carried out between 1948 and 1960, those in Wales between 1960 and 1982).

Some of the material in the present work appeared, in a different form, in *The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects Vols 1 and 2* (Parry 1977, 1979). For the convenience of readers of those volumes, one should mention here that some localities that appear therein are omitted from the present volume, either because they were comparatively urban localities and are now replaced by more rural ones, or because they were investigated a disproportionately long time ago. Even so, some urban localities do remain, for the reason given above, and three of the corpora included (from Rhayader, Llanbister and New Radnor) are over thirty years old. None the less, the selection of the material for the present volume does reduce, although it does not eliminate, the lack of comparability between items

obtained at different kinds of place and at different times. These adjustments have necessitated changes in the code numbers (consisting in abbreviated county name plus individual locality number) of most of the investigated localities, these new code numbers being given in the List of Anglo-Welsh Localities Investigated above and in § 1.2 below. The localities included in *The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects Vols 1 and 2* but excluded from the revised network of localities are:

Howey, Hay-on-Wye and Ystradgynlais in Powys, Pontyets/Carway and Llanelli in Dyfed, Gorseinon and Middleton in West Glamorgan, Pontlottyn, Miscin, Cwmfelin, Tonteg and Rhydri in Mid Glamorgan, Cowbridge in South Glamorgan, Abergavenny, Blaenafon, Llanhilleth, Caerleon and Newport in Gwent.

Reference to these dialects is not in fact wholly excluded from the present work, but is made only irregularly or incidentally.

Investigated Localities, Fieldworkers, and Dates of Investigation

1.2 For the purposes of the Survey, we divided Wales into three regions: the North, the South-West and the South-East. The North embraces Gwynedd and Clwyd, along with that part of Powys that until 1974 was known as Montgomeryshire. The South-West is co-terminous with Dyfed. The South-East embraces that part of Powys that until 1974 was known as Radnorshire and Breconshire, along with West Glamorgan, Mid Glamorgan, South Glamorgan and Gwent. The fieldworkers investigated 31 localities in the North, 25 in the South-West, and 34 in the South-East. The following is a list of the localities investigated, with their National Grid references, population figures, dates of investigation, and the names of the fieldworkers concerned.

THE NORTH Gwynedd

Gn 1 TREFOR SH 3780
(Llechryd Farwy) 146 Investigated
1980 by Robert Penhallurick

Gn 2 LLANGOED SH 6079
1,168 Investigated 1980 by
Penhallurick

Gn 3 CYFFIN SH 7777
(Conwy Community)
Investigated 1979 by Nia Jones

Gn 4 DOLGARROG SH 7667
502 Investigated 1980 by
Penhallurick

Gn 5 TALYSARN SH 4954
(Llanllynfi Community)
Investigated 1980 by
Penhallurick

Gn 6 BETWS-Y-COED SH 8057
Pop. 654 Investigated 1980 by
Hallett

Gn 7 BOTWNNOG SH 2632
995 Investigated 1981 by
Penhallurick

Gn 8 YNYS SH 5935 . Pop. (Taly-
sarnau) 419. Investigated 1981 by
Robert Penhallurick

Gn 9 FRON GOCH SH 9039. Pop.
(Llanfor) 607. Investigated 1981 by
Robert Penhallurick

Gn 10 RHYDYMAIN SH 8022. Pop.
(Llanfachreth Community) 474
Investigated 1974 by Sylvia Harvey-
Bowering and Sally Lewis

Clwyd

Cl 1 LLANFAIR TALHAIARN SH
9370 Pop. 734 Investigated 1981 by
Robert Penhallurick

Cl 2 TRELAWNYD SJ 0980. Pop.
492 Investigated 1981 by
Penhallurick

CI 3 BUCKLEY SJ 2564. Pop. 13,387. Investigated 1978 by Martin Harvey

CI 4 LLANFAIR DYFFRYN CLWYD SJ 1455. Pop. 987. Investigated 1980 by Robert Penhallurick

CI 5 CYNWYD SJ 0641. Pop. (Corwen) 2,175. Investigated 1978 by Paul Brough and 1980 by Robert Penhallurick

CI 6 OVERTON SJ 3841. Pop. 1,100. Investigated 1977 by Annette Spear

CI 7 NANTGLYN SJ 0062. Pop. 283. Investigated 1975 by Lynne Byford, 1982 by Robert Penhallurick

Powys (North)

P 1 LLANGYNOG SJ 0526. Pop. (Civil Parish) 265. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 2 LLANFECHAIN SJ 182. Pop. (Civil Parish) 440. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 3 FOEL SH 9911. Investigated 1975 by Christine Morley

P 4 PONT ROBERT SJ 1113. Pop. (Meifod Community) 788. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 5 GUILSFIELD. SJ 2211. Pop. (Ward) 3,400. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 6 CEMMAES ROAD SH 8204. Pop. (Darowen Community) 393. Investigated 1975 by Christine Morley

P7 STAYLITTLE SN 8992. Pop. (Trefeglwys Community) 669. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 8 CARNO SN 9696. Pop. (Civil Parish) 450. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 9 TREGYNON SO 0998. Pop. (Civil Parish) 365. Investigated 1975

by Christine Morley

P 10 FORDEN SJ 2200. Pop. (Civil Parish) 645. Investigated 1975 by Christine Morley

P 11 LLANDINAM SO 0288. Pop. (Civil Parish) 895. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 12 KERRY SO 1489. Pop. (Civil Parish) 1,445. Investigated 1975 by Christine Morley

P 13 CHURCH STOKE SO 2794. Pop. (Civil Parish) 1,075. Investigated 1974 by Christine Morley

P 14 LLANGURIG SN 9079. Pop. (Civil Parish) 585. Investigated 1975 by Christine Morley

THE SOUTH-WEST

Dyfed

Dy 1 FURNACE SN 6895. Pop. (Ysgubor-y-Coed) 245. Investigated 1978 by Helen Barney

Dy 2 RHYDYFELIN SN 5979. Pop. (Aberystwyth Urban District) 12,175. Investigated 1976 by Veronica Franklin

Dy 3 LLANON SN 5267. Pop. (Llansantffraid Civil Parish) 860. Investigated 1977 by Martin Jenkins

Dy 4 TREGARON SN 6860. Pop. (Tregaron Urban District) 4,247. Investigated 1978 by Helen Boudier

Dy 5 LAMPETER AND DREFACH SN 5849. Pop. Lampeter 2,125. Drefach c.200. (Lampeter is c.4 miles SE of Drefach.) Investigated 1978 by Elestr Lee and David Parry

Dy 6 GOODWICK SM 9038. Pop. 7500. Investigated 1977 by Mary Walters

Dy 7 BONCATH SN 2081. Pop. 233. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton

- Dy 8 CENARTH SN 2641. Pop. 926. Investigated 1974 by William Bundy
- Dy 9 LLANSAWEL SN 6136. Pop. 451. Investigated 1974 by William Bundy
- Dy 10 MYDDFAI SN 7730. Pop. 384. Investigated 1974 by William Bundy
- Dy 11 ST DAVID'S SM 7525. Pop. 1,690. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton
- Dy 12 WOLF'S CASTLE SM 9527. Pop. 703. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton
- Dy 13 CAMROSE SM 9320. Pop. 800. Investigated 1974 by Theresa Dacey
- Dy 14 WISTON SN 0318. Pop. 559. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton
- Dy 15 LOGIN SN 1623. Pop. 666. Investigated 1974 by William Bundy
- Dy 16 NEWCHURCH SN 3824. Pop. 382. Investigated 1974 by William Bundy
- Dy 17 GELLI AUR SN 5919. Pop. (Llangathen Civil Parish) 517. Investigated 1974 by William Bundy
- Dy 18 LLANDEBIE SN 6215. Pop. c.3,000. Investigated 1977 by Robert Penhallurick
- Dy 19 MARLOES SM 7908. Pop. 292. Investigated 1974 by Robert Goss
- Dy 20 LLANGWM SM 9909. Pop. 1,031. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton
- Dy 21 LAUGHARNE SN 3010. Pop. 1,104. Investigated 1974 by William Bundy
- Dy 22 FERRYSIDE SN 3609. Pop. 1,403. Investigated 1973 by William Bundy
- Dy 23 LLANGENNECH SN 5502. Pop. 2,890. Investigated 1973 by William Bundy
- Dy 24 ANGLE SM 8703. Pop. 286. Investigated 1975 by Francesca Ayres
- Dy 25 ST FLORENCE SN 0801. Pop. 312. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton

THE SOUTH-EAST Powys: Central and Southern

- P 15 RHAYADER SN 9768. Pop. 912. Investigated 1960 by David Parry
- P 16 LLANBISTER SO 1073. Pop. 439. Investigated 1960 by David Parry
- P 17 KNIGHTON and KNUCKLAS SO 2574. Pop. 2,008. Investigated 1971 by Geoffrey Warren
- P 18 STANAGE SO 3372. Pop. 79. Investigated 1979 by Patricia Corkhill
- P 19 LLANAFAN FAWR SN 9656. Pop. 215. Investigated 1972 by Peter Pozman
- P 20 NEW RADNOR SO 2160. Pop. 321. Investigated 1960 by David Parry
- P 21 LLANWRTYD SN 8947. Pop. 533. Investigated 1960 by David Parry
- P 22 PAINSCASTLE SO 1646. Pop. 113. Investigated 1972 by Christine Morley
- P 23 UPPER CHAPEL SO 0040. Pop. (Merthyr Cynog) 240. Investigated 1969 by Anne Chesters
- P 24 TRECASTLE SN 8829. Pop. (Traianmawr District) 214. Investigated 1969 by Anne Chesters

P 25 TALGARTH SO 1534 Pop. 1,829. Investigated 1980 by Caroline Reece

P 26 TALYBONT-ON-USK SO 1122. Pop. (Brecknock Rural District) 6,385. Investigated 1970 by Anne Chesters

West Glamorgan

WG 1 GLAIS SN 7000. Pop. (Pontardawe Rural District) 29,220. Investigated 1969 by Anne Chesters

WG 2 RESOLVEN SN 8302. Pop. 2,640. Investigated 1972 by Anthony Hallatt

WG 3 LLANGENNITH SS 4392. Pop. 330. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton

WG 4 LLANRHIDIAN SS 4992. Pop. 527. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton

WG 5 HORTON SS 4885. Pop. (Penrice) 235. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton

WG 6 BISHOPSTON SS 5789. Pop. 4,225. Investigated 1969 by Clive Upton

Mid Glamorgan

MG 1 PENDERYN SN 9509. Pop. 2,205. Investigated 1969 by Anne Chesters

MG 2 PORTH SN 9595. Pop. 10,411. Investigated 1979 by Ceri George

MG 3 ST BRIDE'S MAJOR SS 8975. Pop. 1,745. Investigated 1969 by Anne Chesters

South Glamorgan

SG 1 LLANGAN and TREOES SS 9577. Pop. 315. Investigated 1969 by Anne Chesters

SG 2 PETERSTON-SUPER-ELY ST

0876. Pop. 810. Investigated 1970 by Anne Chesters

SG 3 LLANTWIT MAJOR SS 9868. Pop. 6,503. Investigated 1970 by Anne Chesters

SG 4 LLANCARFAN ST 0570. Pop. 490. Investigated 1970 by Anne Chesters

Gwent

Gw 1 PANDY SO 3422. Pop. (Crucorney Fawr) 795. Investigated 1971 by Anne McGill

Gw 2 MANMOEL SO 1803. Pop. 100. Investigated 1973 by David Blatchford

Gw 3 LLANOFER SO 3209. Pop. 1,215. Investigated 1971 by William Gould

Gw 4 ROCKFIELD SO 4815. Pop. (Llangattock Vibon Avel) 820. Investigated 1971 by Anne McGill

Gw 5 USK SO 3701. Pop. 1,920. Investigated 1971 by William Gould

Gw 6 TINTERN SO 5300. Pop. 620. Investigated 1972 by Anne McGill

Gw 7 LLANDDEWI FACH ST 3395. Pop. (Llangybi Fawr) 825. Investigated 1971 by William Gould

Gw 8 MARSHFIELD ST 2682. Pop. 1,135. Investigated 1972 by Anne McGill

Gw 9 UNDY ST 4487. Pop. 665. Investigated 1971 by William Bundy

Other Localities Cited

1.3 In addition to the 90 localities listed in § 1.2 above, occasional references are made also to the dialects of the following:

POWYS: Llanwddyn (SJ 0219); Four Crosses (SJ 2718); Aberangell (SH 8410); Cefn Coch (SJ 8402); Howey

(SO 0560), Hay-on-Wye (SO 2343);
Ystradgynlais (SN 8010)

DYFED: Red Roses (SN 2010);
Tavernspite (SN 1813), Llansadurnen
(SN 2810), Pontiets and Carway (SN
4708), Llanelli (SS 5099)

WEST GLAMORGAN: Gorseinon (SS
6298), Middleton (SS 4386); Swansea
(SS 7095)

MID GLAMORGAN: Pontlottyn (ST
1206); Miscin (ST 0299); Hengoed (ST
1595); Cwmfelin (SS 8592); Tonteg (ST
8609); Rhydri (ST 1986)

SOUTH GLAMORGAN: Cowbridge (ST
0175)

GWENT: Abergavenny (SO 3015);
Blaenafon (SO 2909); Llanhilleth (SO
2400); Caerleon (ST 3590); Newport
(ST 3286)

Information on the dialects of the
localities listed above was provided by
the following investigators:

Susan Bennett (Rhydri)
William Bundy (Red Roses, Tavernspite,
Llansadurnen)
Anne Chesters (Ystradgynlais)
Patricia Donoghue (Llanelli)
William Gould (Blaenafon, Caerleon)
Anne McGill (Abergavenny, Llanhilleth)
Christine Morley (Llanwddyn, Four
Crosses, Aberangell, Cefn Coch)
Sharon O'Brien (Cwmfelin)
David Parry (Howey, Hay-on-Wye,
Middleton, Pontlottyn, Miscin,
Newport)
Professor C.J.L.Price (Swansea)
Vanni Scarfi (Hengoed)
Hilary Slidel (Tonteg)
Clive Upton (Gorseinon, Pontiets and
Carway)

Welsh, English and Anglo-Welsh in the Investigated Localities

1.4 In the present work,
"Anglo-Welsh Dialects" means 'English
as spoken by Welsh people typified by

those selected as informants according
to the criteria listed in § 1.1. For
some of these informants, Anglo-Welsh
dialects are what they speak all the
time; for others they are a second
language to their native Welsh. Of the
330 informants interviewed, 144 (some
44%) did habitually speak Welsh in
everyday life. They were distributed in
such a way that at the majority of
localities in the network, either *all* or
informants habitually spoke Welsh or
else *none* did so. Of the 90 localities
investigated, 32 came into the former
category and 47 into the latter. At the
other 11 localities the percentage of
habitual Welsh-speakers among the
informants ranged from 20 to 80.

The table below shows *not* the
percentage of the population at large
that habitually spoke Welsh at the
localities concerned, but the percentage
of the informants interviewed who did
so. See also the map on page (iv).

GWYNEDD

	%
Gn 1	
Gn 2	100
Gn 3	100
Gn 4	40
Gn 5	100
Gn 6	100
Gn 7	100
Gn 8	100
Gn 9	100
Gn 10	100
<i>Total Gwynedd:</i>	89

CLWYD

Cl 1	100
Cl 2	100
Cl 3	0
Cl 4	100
Cl 5	100
Cl 6	0
Cl 7	75
<i>Total Clwyd:</i>	65

POWYS (NORTH)

P 1 50

P 2	25
P 3	100
P 4	100
P 5	0
P 6	33
P 7	100
P 8	100
P 9	0
P 10	0
P 11	0
P 12	0
P 13	0
P 14	50

Total Powys (North): 39

DYFED %

Dy 1	100
Dy 2	100
Dy 3	100
Dy 4	100
Dy 5	100
Dy 6	0
Dy 7	20
Dy 8	100
Dy 9	100
Dy 10	100
Dy 11	40
Dy 12	60
Dy 13	0
Dy 14	0
Dy 15	100
Dy 16	80
Dy 17	100
Dy 18	100
Dy 19	0
Dy 20	0
Dy 21	0
Dy 22	0
Dy 23	100
Dy 24	0
Dy 25	0

Total Dyfed: 56

POWYS (CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN)

P 15	0
P 16	0
P 17	0
P 18	0
P 19	0

P 20	
P 21	0
P 22	100
P 23	0
P 24	0
P 25	0
P 26	0

Total Powys (Central and Southern): 9%

WEST GLAMORGAN %

WG 1	100
WG 2	0
WG 3	0
WG 4	0
WG 5	0
WG 6	0

Total West Glamorgan: 15

MID GLAMORGAN

MG 1	50
MG 2	0
MG 3	0

Total Mid Glamorgan: 10

SOUTH GLAMORGAN

SG 1	0
SG 2	0
SG 3	0
SG 4	0

Total South Glamorgan: 0

GWENT

Gw 1	0
Gw 2	0
Gw 3	0
Gw 4	0
Gw 5	0
Gw 6	0
Gw 7	0
Gw 8	0
Gw 9	0

Total Gwent: 0

PART TWO: PHONOLOGY

(i) INTRODUCTION

2.1 The following outline of Anglo-Welsh phonology is based on the recorded forms of 144 words chosen so as to provide an outline of both (a) the sound-systems, and (b) the reflexes of the sounds of Middle English, in the dialects under investigation. The 144 words are:

apples, arm
 bacon, bitch, boar, boiling, branch,
 break, bridge, bull, buried, butcher,
 butter
 calf, chaff, chair, cheese, clay, coal,
 cold, colt, comb, cow, cross
 deaf, dew, dog, door, drain, draught
 ears, ewe, eye
 farmer, farthing, fight, finger, fire,
 first, flies *n.pl.*, flour, foal, foot,
 forks, four, fox, furrow
 gate, geese, goose, grass, grease
 hand, hare, hear, heard, hive, holly,
 hoof, hour
 iron, ivy
 jump
 kettle, key
 ladder, lamb, lay *v.inf.*
 man, mare, mice, morning
 none, nothing
 oak, off, oil, old, one, onions
 pea, pears, plough, porridge, potatoes,
 put
 quarry
 rabbits, rat, road, root
 saddle, saw-dust, second, sheaf, sheep,
 shilling, shoulder, slaughter-house,
 snout, snow, sow *n.*, spade, spokes,
 squirrel, stool, straw, suck, suet,
 sugar
 tail, take, that (*demonstrative*), thatch,
 thimble, third, thousand, toad,
 tooth, trough, Tuesday, twelve,
 two
 uncle
 voice
 waistcoat, walk, wash, wasps, weasel,
 weeds, weigh, wheel, whip, white,
 with, woman, wool, work *n.*,
 wrong
 year, yeast, yellow, yolk

2.2 Adopting, in simplified form, a principle employed by Wells in *Accents of English* (1982), we shall divide these words into groups, giving each group a name such as **BRIDGE set**, **KETTLE set** or the like that can then be used to facilitate making references to all members of the group collectively, as we shall have occasion to do from time to time. The sets, and their respective members, are as follows:

BRIDGE set

bitch, bridge, finger, shilling, squirrel, thimble, whip, with

KETTLE set

buried, deaf, kettle, second, twelve, yellow

APPLES set

apples, hand, ladder, lamb, man, rabbits, rat, saddle, that, thatch

SUCK set

butter, furrow, jump, none, nothing, one, onions, suck, uncle

DOG set

cross, dog, fox, holly, off, porridge, quarry, trough, wash, wasps, wrong

BULL set

bull, butcher, foot, put, sugar, woman, wool

SHEEP set

cheese, geese, grease, key, pea, sheaf, sheep, weasel, weeds, wheel, yeast

GATE set

bacon, break, clay, drain, gate, lay v.inf., potatoes, spade, tail, take, waistcoat, weigh

WORK set

first, heard, third, work n.

MARE set

chair, hare, mare, pears

ARM set
arm, branch, calf, chaff, draught,
farmer, farthing, grass

STRAW set
forks, morning, saw-dust, slaughter-
house, straw, walk

FOAL set
coal, cold, colt, comb, foal, oak, old,
road, shoulder, snow, spokes, toad,
yolk

GOOSE set
dew, ewe, goose, hoof, root, stool,
tooth, Tuesday, two

WHITE set
eye, fight, flies n.pl., hive, ivy, mice,
white

OIL set
boiling, oil, voice

COW set
cow, plough, snout, sow n., thousand

EARS set
ears, hear, year

BOAR set
boar, door, four

FIRE set
fire, iron

HOOR set
flour, hour

As will be obvious, membership of a given set is determined by the vowel of the stressed syllable of the word as pronounced in RP, an accent with which Anglo-Welsh accents will be from time to time compared. Hence, for example, when we refer to "the SHEEP set" (or, in lists, simply to "SHEEP") we mean all the words included in the list of 144 above that have /i:/ in the stressed syllable in RP.

We shall use a similar device for referring to whole sets of words collectively when discussing sounds in **unstressed** syllables. The following three sets will be distinguished for such purposes:

-ER words
butcher, butter, farmer, finger, ladder,
shoulder, slaughter

-ING words
boiling, farthing, morning, nothing,
shilling

-Y words
holly, ivy, quarry

The Phonetic Transcription

2.3 The fieldworkers transcribed the responses given by the informants as narrowly as possible, making full use of International Phonetic Association symbols and diacritics. But in the present discussion, diacritics have been ignored, except for the following:

length-marks attached to vowel- and consonant- symbols; *superscript* [ʰ] denoting retroflex r-colouring of the vowel to which it is attached; the bar distinguishing *dark* [ɔ̃] from *clear* [ɔ]; subscript diacritics denoting *dental articulation* of [t d n]; [ˈ] indicating that the immediately following syllable has *strongest stress* in the word concerned.

For a *full* account of the principles of broadening of phonetic transcription that are employed in the present work, see Appendix A, pp. 308-310.

THE ANGLO-WELSH UNITS

2.4 The phones, simplified in their transcription as explained in §2.3, have been grouped into what we shall call **UNITS**. A Unit is an *abstract idea* in the mind of a speaker or hearer, which receives concrete expression (or, in traditional terminology, 'is realised') only in the form of one or other of the phones belonging to an appropriate set -- "appropriate", that is, in terms of the rules of the dialect under

consideration.

The reason for our decision to talk in terms of Anglo-Welsh UNITS is that we are interested in trying to suggest what it is that speakers of an Anglo-Welsh dialect can be said to "know" about the sound-system of that dialect. We are assuming that such speakers are, at most, only vaguely and subconsciously aware of sound-distinctions that could not cause them confusion between one word and another word, but that they are fully alert to *functional* sound-distinctions that could, for them, suffice in themselves to turn one meaning into another meaning. For instance, it could happen that a speaker would understand both [fo:l] and [fou:l] as *foal*, but would understand [fɔ:l] as *fall*. This speaker might be vaguely aware of the phonetic differences between the [o:] and the [ou], but for practical purposes of communication regard them as "the same", or as equally acceptable variants. The [ɔ:] on the other hand would not only *sound* different but also, for practical purposes of communication, *be* different. Assuming that the speaker concerned was a typical speaker of the dialect, we would say that the sound-system of that dialect included, *int. al.*, one Unit that had [o:] and [ou] among its members (or 'realisations'), and another Unit that included [ɔ:] among its members (or 'realisations').

At this point the reader may wonder why we seem to reject the well-established concept of **phonemes** for what may sound like an identical concept that we are choosing to call **units**. The reason is that in our opinion, it is only when we have set up a full series of "minimal pairs" that *demonstrate* that certain sound-distinctions are functional that we are entitled to say that we have established the *phonemes* of that dialect. This of course has long ago been accomplished for RP, but the present investigation can make no claim to have *established* the phonemes of any of the dialects of Anglo-Welsh, since the corpus of collected material contains few suitable "minimal pairs", the Dieth-Orton

Questionnaire, on which our own questionnaire is closely modelled, having been designed with other purposes than this in mind.

And so our interpretation of the sound-systems of the dialects under discussion is not proven, but only tentative. It is based largely on our own intuition. The way we arrived at it was as follows. Having worked through the phonetic transcriptions of the 144 words selected for special examination, we devised what seemed a suitable alphabet for recording all and only those distinctions that appeared capable of distinguishing *meanings* in the dialects concerned. It turned out, not surprisingly, that some of the dialects would require *all* the symbols in this alphabet, others only some of them. We then imagined a situation in which this special alphabet had been taught to the informants, who had then been asked to employ it in writing down their pronunciations of each of the 144 words. The results we believe we would have got if this experiment had really taken place provide the basis of our "Unit" groupings as used throughout the present work.

From what has been said above, it will be clear that our *units* thus amount to *tentatively-proposed phonemes*. Our intuitive and tentative proposals are of course open to future correction, which we hope may at some time be provided by those scholars who are convinced of the desirability of all accents being analysed in phonemic terms. This would of course require a new Questionnaire, devised to promote the discovery of "minimal pairs", and a good deal of intensive new fieldwork.

Transcription of the Units

2.5 In devising the notation for transcribing the Units, we felt it desirable to bring out, visually, the distinction between the established and the tentative: between the *generally received* status of the phonemes proposed for RP, and the *tentative and*

unproven status of the Units we propose for the analysis of the dialects of Anglo-Welsh. Since the phonemes of RP are usually transcribed with a selection of the same IPA symbols that are used also for phonetic transcription, we decided to make Unit symbols distinct from these by employing, as far as possible, upper-case roman letters, eked out by a few lower-case ones, a few specially-devised symbols, and "length-marks". The result is the following set of symbols:

Upper-case roman

/A/ /B/ /D/ /E/ /F/ /G/ /H/ /I/ /J/ /K/

/L/ /M/ /N/ /O/ /P/ /R/ /S/ /T/ /U/

/V/ /W/ /X/ /Y/ /Z/

Upper-case roman with colon indicating length

/A:/ /E:/ /I:/ /O:/ /U:/

Special symbols, upper-case

/N/ /D/

Special symbols, upper-case, with colon indicating length

/E:/ /E:/ /D:/

Special symbol, lower-case, but used only in connexion with upper-case

/Λ/

Upper-case roman combined with lower-case symbol to denote single Units

/Ch/ /Ng/ /Sh/ /Th/ /Ll/ /Ai/ /Oi/ /Au/

/h/ /o/ /u/ /z/

2.6 These 46 symbols are used to denote 46 Units that are arranged as follows and embrace the phonetic realisations that are indicated:

SHORT-VOWEL UNITS

Designation	Realisations
/I/	[i]
/E/	[ɛ]
/A/	[a] [æ] [ɑ]
/Λ/	[ʌ] [ə] [œ] [ʌ ^ɾ] [ə ^ɾ] [œ ^ɾ]
/O/	[ɔ] [ɒ]
/U/	[u] [ʊ]
LONG-VOWEL AND DIPHTHONGAL UNITS	
/I:/	[i:] [i] [ii] [ii]
/E:/	[e:] [e ^ɾ :] [ei] [ɛi] [æi]
/E:/	[ɛ:] [ɛ ^ɾ :] [ɛə] [ɛə ^ɾ] [œ:] [œə] [eə] [eə ^ɾ]
/E:/	[œ:] [ə:] [ə ^ɾ :] [œ ^ɾ :] [ʌ:]
/A:/	[a:] [a ^ɾ :] [aə] [aɛ] [ɑ:] [æ:] [ɑ ^ɾ :] [ɑə]
/D:/	[ɔ:] [ɔ ^ɾ :] [ɒ:]
/O:/	[o:] [ou] [ɔu] [əu]
/U:/	[u:] [u] [uə] [u:] [uu]
/u/	[iu]
/Ai/	[ai] [æi] [əi] [ɑi]
/Au/	[au] [æu] [ɛu] [əu] [ɑu]
/Oi/	[oi] [ɔi] [ɔiə] [ɒi] [ui]
/OΛ/	[oə] [oə ^ɾ] [oɛ] [ouə] [ouə ^ɾ] [ɔə] [ɔə ^ɾ] [ɔuə]
/h/	[iə] [iə ^ɾ] [iʌ] [iɛ]

CONSONANTAL UNITS

/P/	[p]	[p:]	
/B/	[b]	[b:]	
/T/	[t]	[t:]	[t̥]
/D/	[d]	[d:]	[d̥]
/K/	[k]	[k:]	
/G/	[g]	[g:]	
/F/	[f]		
/V/	[v]	[v:]	
/Th/	[θ]	[θ:]	
/ð/	[ð]	[ð:]	
/L/	[ɫ]		
/S/	[s]	[s:]	
/Z/	[z]	[z:]	
/Sh/	[ʃ]	[ʃ:]	
/Zh/	[ʒ]		
/X/	[x]		
/H/	[h]		
/Ch/	[tʃ]	[tʃ:]	[tʃ̥:]
/J/	[dʒ]		
/M/	[m]	[m:]	
/N/	[n]	[n:]	[n̥]
/Ng/	[ŋ]	[ŋ:]	
/L/	[l]	[l:]	[ɫ]
/W/	[w]		
/Y/	[j]		
/R/	[r]	[r:]	[r̥] [ɹ] [ɹ:]
	[R]	[ɹ]	[ɹ̥]

2.7 It may be of service to the reader if we now provide some illustrations of the Unit-symbols in the transcription of complete words and sentences.

(a) The Short Vowels

Sentence transcribed orthographically:

A cracked egg is not much good.

Potential phonetic realisation:

[ə krakt ɛg ɪz nɒt mʌʃ gud]

Transcription in terms of Units:

/ʌ KRAKT EG ɪz Nɒt Mʌʃ GUD/

(b) The Long Vowels and the Diphthongs

Sentences transcribed orthographically:

(i) Bert Smart needs Paul's boots.

(ii) Five brave boys found gold.

(iii) Their beer's more pure.

(iv) Sit by the fire for an hour.

Potential phonetic realisations:

(i) [bɔ:t sma:t ni:dz pɔ:lz bu:ts]

(ii) [faɪv breɪv boɪz faʊnd go:ld]

(iii) [ðɛ: 'bi:ɹʌz mɔə 'pjʊ:wʌ]

(iv) [sɪt baɪ ðə 'faɪə fɔr ʌn 'aʊə]

Transcription in terms of Units:

(i) /Bɔ:t SMA:T NI:DZ Pɔ:lz BU:TS/

(ii) /FAɪv BRE:v BOɪz FAʊND GO:LD/

(iii) /ðɛ: 'BI:YʌZ MOʌ 'PYU:Wʌ/

(iv) /SIT BAɪ ðə 'FAɪYʌ FɔR ʌN 'AʊWʌ/

(c) Some Consonants

In this table, the left-hand column gives the word in ordinary orthography, the middle column in a potential Anglo-Welsh phonetic realisation, and the right-hand column in terms of Units.

think	[θɪŋk]	/ThINgK/
Llanelli	[ˈlanˈɛli]	/LIANˈELII:/
shelter	[ˈʃɛltə]	/'ShELTA/

judging	[ˈdʒʌdʒɪŋ]	/JAJINg/
measure	[ˈmɛʒə]	/'MEZhA/
witch	[wɪtʃ]	/WICH/
which	[hwɪtʃ]	/HWICH/
ewe	[juː]	/'YIu/
Drefach	[dreːˈvaːx]	/DREːˈVAːX/

(ii) AN OUTLINE OF THE SOUNDS OF ANGLO-WELSH

2.8 We now attempt a comprehensive review of all the Anglo-Welsh Units, their respective realisations, and their distribution in the 144 selected words in the 90 dialects that were investigated.

Discussion of each Unit takes the following form. First, the designation of the Unit appears centrally as a sub-heading. There is then a list of the recorded phonetic realisations of that Unit. This is followed by an account of the distribution of each phonetic realisation, categorised according to the RP phone(s) of which it can be regarded as a reflex.

For instance, Anglo-Welsh /A/ is realised by [a], [æ] and [ɑ]. Of these, [a] corresponds to RP [æ] in some words, to RP [ɒ] in others, RP [ɑ] in others and RP [ʌ] in yet others. The details of these correspondences will be given with regard to specific forms attested in specific dialects (referred to by their code-numbers as given in the List of Anglo-Welsh Localities Investigated at the front of the book). The same is then done for Anglo-Welsh [æ] and for Anglo-Welsh [ɑ]. Comparisons with the sounds recorded in the dialects of England by *SED* or *EDG* are drawn wherever these seem illuminating. References to *The Linguistic Atlas of England (LAE)* will also be made from time to time.

A. The Vowels of Stressed Syllables

/I/

2.9 The only recorded realisation of /I/ is [ɪ], which corresponds to:

1. RP [ɪ] in all words of the BRIDGE set *except for bitch* at Gn 6, Dy 2/4, WG 5.

2. RP [e] in *yellow* P 1/21; *kettle* P 4/7/11, WG 6.

LAE Map Ph 14 shows a large enclave of [ɪ] in *kettle* in south-west England, whence the form recorded at WG 6 may derive.

3. RP [eɪ] in *break* P 7.

4. RP [u] in *sugar* Cl 7.

5. RP [i:] in *weeds* P 19; *geese* P 20; *sheaf* WG 5-6; *sheep* P 10/15/20.

LAE (Maps Ph 96, 93) records [ɪ] in *weeds* at (*int. al.*) Sa 9, He 4, Mon 1-2, Gl 1; *geese*

at (*int al.*) Sa 8/10, He 1-4/6, Wo 4 -- the form at P 20 making an extension of that enclave. EDG records [ɪ] in *sheaf* in wSo, a likely source for the Gower examples (WG 5-6) noted above.

/E/

2.10 The only recorded realisation of /E/ is [ɛ], which corresponds to:

1. RP [e] in all words of the KETTLE set *except for buried* Gn 7, Cl 2, P 16, Dy 3; *deaf* P 7, Dy 1/5, WG 5; *kettle* P 4/7, Dy 5, WG 6; *yellow* P 1/5/14/21.

2. RP [æ] in *apples* P 10; *man* P 22.

3. RP [i:] in *sheaf* P 19; *grease* Dy 8.

The only recording of [ɛ] in *sheaf* in LAE that is near Wales is at He 2; there appear to be no recordings near Wales of this sound in *grease*. With the form of the latter recorded at Dy 8, cf. *grēsh* 'lubricating grease' in the Welsh dialects of that area (see LGW p.380).

4. RP [ɛə] in *chair*: in *final* position at Dy 2/9, and in the *final* combination /ER/ at Dy 10/16/23.

The short quantity of the vowel in the combination /ER/ is probably due to the fact that in Welsh orthography *r* represents /r/ in all positions, and /e/ before following /r/ is always short. In the forms recorded at Dy 2/9, the /r/ is lost, presumably through English influence, but the short vowel is retained.

Similarly, /ER/ appears in *mare* P 8, and *pears* Dy 8/13, but Dy 22 has simple /E/ in *pears*.

5. RP [eɪ] in *waistcoat* P 6/15-16/22, WG 3, Gw 6/8; *bacon* P 14; *take* P 8; *potatoes* Dy 2.

EPD lists /e/ in *waistcoat* as "old-fashioned", but cf. also Welsh *gwasgod* 'waistcoat', which presumably underlies the form /GWESKAD/ recorded at P 6. EDG recordings of [ɛ] in *take* extend as near to Powys as neSa, but this is not true of LAE

With /E/ in *potatoes* Dy 2, cf. Welsh *pryaten* that likewise has a short vowel.

6. RP [ɜ:] in *heard*, at Dy 3 in the combination /ER/.

/A/

2.11 /A/ is realised by [a], [æ] and [ɑ].

[a]

2.12 [a] corresponds to:

1. RP [æ] in *apples* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-15/18-19/21-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1/4-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *hand* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *ladder* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-13/15/18-19/21-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1/3-5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *lamb* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-13/15/18-19/21-26, Dy 1-23/25, WG 1-5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *man* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-5/7, P 1-14/18-19/21/24-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-2, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-9; *rabbits* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-5/7-13/15-16/18-19/21/24-26, Dy 1-12/14-25, WG 1-5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *rat* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-13/15-16/18-19/21-26, Dy 1-12/14-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *saddle* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-13/15/18-26, Dy 1-12/14-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *that* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-15/18-25, Dy 1-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; *thatch* Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-12/14-16/18-19/21-26, Dy 1-17/19-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9.

2. RP [ɒ] in *quarry* Gn 3-4/6-8, Cl 2/6, P 1/4/21-22, Dy 2; *wash* Gn 5/7-9, Cl 3/5/7, P 1, Dy 3/11; *wasps* Gn 1-2/4/7/9, Cl 2-4, P 8/13/21/24/26, Dy 6/8-9/11-12/14/16-17/22/24, WG 1/3/5-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-2/4, Gw 1-3/6-7/9; *trough* P 16.

In *quarry*, SED records [ɑ] and variants thereof in all regions of Eng., including Ch Sa, So Co D that are nearest Wales. Cf. also Welsh *chwarel* [xwarel] 'quarry', an adoption of early Modern English *quarel*. The [ɑ] in *wash*

recorded in Welsh-speaking areas is perhaps due to interpretation of orthographic **wa** as [wa], as in Welsh. The same may account for [a] in **wasps** in some Welsh-speaking localities, although *SED* records it widely in all regions, including the counties nearest Wales. *SED* records [a] in **trough** Sa 3.

3. RP [ɑ:] in **chaff** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 1-8/11-16/18-19/23-26, Dy 1-23/25, WG 1-2/4-5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/7/9; **grass** Gn 1-4/9-10, Cl 1-7, P 2-3/5-6/8-9/12-14/19/21/23-26, Dy 1-18/20-23/25, WG 1/3-5, MG 1, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5-6. Simple [a] appears in **arm** P 2, **farmer** Dy 1 and **farthing** Dy 22-23, P 2; the combination [ar] appears in **farmer** Dy 3/9-11/15/17, WG 2 and **farthing** Dy 3/8/15. Also containing [a] are **branch** Gn 1-6/8-10, Cl 1-4/6-7, P 1-2/4-6/8-9/11-15/18-19/21-26, Dy 1-10/12/14-25, WG 1-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **draught** Gn 1/3/6-7/9-10, Cl 3-4/6, P 1/3/6-7/15-16/19/21/23/25, Dy 2/4-11/13-23, WG 1-2/5-6, SG 1-2, Gw 1-3/7/9; **calf** P 10/13/17/19/25, Dy 1 (in the combination [ar])/6-8/10/14/16-17/21-23, WG 2.

LAE (Map Ph 9) appears to record [a] in **calf** only at Sa 3, on the border of ne Powys.

4. RP [ʌ] in **butter** Gn 6; **furrow** Cl 3, P 18-19/22, WG 1; **uncle** Cl 7, P 21; **one** Gn 8, Cl 1/3-5/7, Dy 7.

5. RP [e] in **kettle** Dy 5.

[æ]

2.13 [æ] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [æ] in **apples** P 17/20; **hand** P 17; **ladder** P 10/14/16-17/20; **lamb** P 14/16-17/20; **man** P 16-17/23; **rabbits** P 14/17/20, Dy 13; **rat** P 10/14/17/20; **saddle** P 14/16-17; **that** P 16-17; **thatch** P 17/20.

For [æ] in **apples** in the adjacent areas of England see *LAE* Map Ph 1.

2. RP [ɒ] in **wasps** P 16/20.

SED records of [æ] in **wasps** near P 16/20 include He 1-6, Wo 4/6.

3. RP [ɑ:] in **chaff** P 17, WG 3; **grass** P 20; **farmer** P 17; **branch** P 16, Dy 13; **draught** P 20; **calf** P 17. Thus AW [æ] is almost entirely confined to eastern Powys.

LAE (Map Ph 3) shows [æ] in **chaff** at *int. al.*, Sa 7/9-10 that adjoin P 17, and So 1-3 that may be a source for the form at WG 3. *EDG* records [æ] in **grass** from mid-Sa. Comparable forms in **calf** appear on *LAE* Map Ph 9 for He 6, Mon 1.

[ɑ]

2.14 [ɑ] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [æ] in **apples** WG 2; **hand** Cl 5, WG 5; **ladder** WG 2; **rat** Cl 3, Dy 13; **saddle** Dy 13.

2. RP [ɒ] in **quarry** P 15, Dy 3; **dog** Cl 5/7, P 15; **wash** Cl 3/5.

3. RP [ɑ:] in **arm**, **farmer** P 14 (in the combination /AR/), Dy 8; **chaff** Cl 5; **draught** WG 4; **calf** WG 2; **grass** Cl 5, P 4.

/ʌ/

2.15 The recorded realisations of /ʌ/ are [ʌ], [ə] and [œ].

[ʌ]

2.16 [ʌ] (most commonly a raised and centralised Cardinal Vowel 14) corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ʌ] in **butter** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-2/4/6-7, P 1-26, Dy 1-2/4-8/10-13/15-17/19/21-23/25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1/3-4, Gw 1-9; **furrow** Gn 1-2/4-9, Cl 1-2/4/6-7, P 1-17/19-21/23-26, Dy 2-4/6-12/14-17/21-25, WG 3-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9; **jump** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 1-3/5-26, Dy 1-13/15-18/20-23/25, WG 1-2/4-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **onions** Gn 1/3-4/6/8/10, Cl 1-2/4/6, P 1-2/4-5/7-9/11-16/18-22/25-26, Dy 4/6-7/10/12-14/16-19/21-23, WG 1-5, MG 1-3, SG 1, Gw 1-9; **suck** Gn 2-4/7/9-10, Cl 1/4-7, P 1-17/19-26, Dy 1-4/6-7/9-12/15-18/21-23/25, WG 1-

6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **uncle** Gn 1-8/10, Cl 1-2/4-6, P 1-20/22-26, Dy 1-4/6-7/9-14/16-17/19/21-25, WG 1-2/4-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **none** Gn 1-3/5-10, Cl 1-5/7, P 1/4/6-10/12-21/23-26, Dy 1-3/5-13/15-18/20-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **nothing** Gn 1-6/8-10, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 1-17/19-24/26, Dy 1-12/15-18/21-25, WG 1/3-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **one** Gn 1-2/5-7/9-10, Cl 1/3/6-7, P 15-21/23-26, Dy 1-6/8-10/15-18/21-23, WG 1-2/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9.

2. RP [u] in **bull** P 10, WG 2; **butcher** Gn 2/5/7, P 10/18, Dy 5/23, WG 2; **put** P 18/22, Dy 16-17/21/23; **woman** P 22, WG 2; **wool** WG 2; **foot** WG 2; **sugar** Gn 9.

EDD records this [ʌ] in **bull** mid-Sa, D; **butcher** Sa Gl, nWd eD; **put** Sa, So D Co; **woman** nSa; **wool** neSa.

3. RP [ɒ] in **holly** Cl 6, **trough** Gn 9, Cl 6, P 1-2/4-6/8-10/12-13, Dy 11.

4. RP [e] in **buried** Gn 10 -- presumably a spelling-pronunciation; and **yellow** P 5/14.

5. RP [ɪ] in **thimble** Gw 7.

6. RP [i:] in **sheaf** Cl 6.

7. RP [ɜ:] . The combination /ʌr/ occurs in **first** Dy 3/10; **third** Dy 10; **work** Dy 3.

This probably arises through orthographic *r* being interpreted according to Welsh conventions, i.e. as /r/ in all positions. In monosyllables, Welsh *y* (almost the same in quality as Anglo-Welsh [ʌ]), is normally short before following /r/.

8. RP [æ] in **rabbits** P 6; **saddle** P 7/11.

9. RP [u:] in **tooth** P 20.

[ə]

2.17 [ə] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ʌ] in **butter** Cl 5, Dy 18, SG 2; **furrow** Gn 3/10, Cl 5, Dy 5/13/19, WG 2, Gw 2; **onion(s)** Cl 3/5, P 10/23-24/26, Dy 3/19/24, MG 3, SG 1; **suck** Dy 5; **uncle** Dy 5/8/18; **nothing** WG 2.

2. RP [u] in **butcher** Gn 3.

3. RP [ɒ] in **dog** Dy 14.

4. RP [e] in **buried** Gn 7.

5. RP [ɜ:] in **third** P 21, Dy 3/7/17, **work** P 8; in all cases in the combination /ʌr/. But simple [ə] occurs in **first** Dy 1/21.

6. RP [ɪə] in the AW combination /ʌr/ in **year** Gn 3, Dy 2.

[œ]

2.18 [œ] in the combination /ʌr/ corresponds to RP [ɜ:] in **first** P 3/21, **work** P 3/21, Dy 5. But simple [œ] is recorded in **first** Dy 4, WG 2.

/O/

2.19 The recorded realisations of /O/ are [ɔ] and [ɒ].

[ɔ]

2.20 [ɔ] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɒ] in **fox** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 2/4-5, P 1-26, WG 1-5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **dog** Gn 2/4-7, Cl 1-2/4, P 1-9/14/16-26, Dy 1-13/15-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **holly** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 1-2/4-14/17-19/21-24, Dy 2/7-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **porridge** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-2/4, P 1-14/17-19/22-26, Dy 2-3/6-19/21/23-25, WG 1-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **off** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 1-4/6-9/11-14/17/19/23-24/26, Dy 2/5-20/22, WG 1-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-9; **cross** Gn 1-2/4-6/9-10, Cl 1-2/4, P 1/3-4/6-9/11-15/17/19/22-26, Dy 2-3/5-23/25, WG 1-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-2/4, Gw 2-9; **quarry** Gn 2/5/9, Cl 1-2/4, P 2-3/5-6/8-10/12-14/17-19/23-26, Dy

6-8/10-23/25, WG 1-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **wash** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 2-12/14-20/22-26, Dy 1-2/4-10/12-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-9; **wasps** Gn 1/4-6/8/10, Cl 1/4, P 2/4-6/9-15/18-19/22-24, Dy 2/10/13/15/18-22/25, WG 2/4, SG 3, Gw 4-5/8; **wrong** Gn 1-2/4-9, Cl 1-2/4, P 1-3/5-14/17/19/22-26, Dy 2/6-23/25, WG 1/3-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **trough** Gn 1-2/4-8/10, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 13-14/19/22/26, Dy 2-3/5-8/12-14/19-20/22/24-25, WG 1/4, MG 1-2, SG 2-3, Gw 2/5/7-9.

2. RP [ʌ] in **none** Gn 4, P 2/5/11/22, Dy 14; **nothing** Dy 13/19; **one** Gn 1-2/4/6-7/9-10, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 1-14/22, Dy 6/11-14/19-20/24-25, WG 3-5; **onions** Gn 7/9, P 6/19, Dy 2/5/8-9/11/15/20/25, WG 6; **uncle** WG 3.

SED recordings of [ɔ] in **none** include Ch 2, Wa 2; in **one** La 6-7, Ch 2, Wo 7, Wa 2. EDG records, in **nothing**, long [ɔ:] from sPem; the form recorded in the present survey at Dy 13/19 is perhaps a shortening of this. In **one**, EDG recordings of [ɔ] include parts of Devon, which may be the source of the same vowel at some or all of Dy 14/19-20/24-25, WG 3-5 that are in south Dyfed and south Gower (West Glamorgan). The [ɔ] in **onion(s)** is probably a spelling-pronunciation in most cases. EDG records [ɔ] in **uncle** from, *int. al.*, east Devon.

3. RP [aʊ] in **colt** Gn 1-2/4-5/7-9, Cl 1/4, P 3/7, Dy 19/24, WG 3/5-6; **yolk** P 16, Dy 9.

EDG records [ɔ] in **colt** from east Devon, which may account for the forms at WG 3/5-6.

4. RP [i:] in **sheaf** P 11

5. RP [æ] in **rabbits** WG 6.

6. RP [ɔ:] in **slaughter-house** Dy 5/10/16-17/21/23.

7. RP [eɪ] in **waistcoat** WG 6.

8. [ɔ] appears (i) in the combination [ɔr] (where RP has [ɔ:]) in **forks** Gn 3, P 19, Dy 9-10; **morning** P 21; **saw-dust** Gn 6, P 16/21, Dy 3/13/25, WG 5, Gw 3; **slaughter** Dy 23; and (ii) in the combination [ɔr]

(where RP has [ɔə] or [ɔ:]) in **boar** Dy 23, **four** Dy 22. Simple [ɔ] appears also in **four** P 2.

Welsh orthographic *r = /r/* in all positions, which may explain the AW forms of **forks** and **morning** here cited.

[ɔ]

2.21 [ɔ] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɔ] in **dog** Gn 1/3/8-10, Cl 3/6; **fox** Gn 3, Cl 1/3/6-7, P 25, MG 2; **holly** Gn 3, Cl 3, P 15-16/20/25, Dy 1/3-6, MG 2; **porridge** Gn 3, Cl 3/5-6, P 15-16/20/25, Dy 1/4-5, MG 2; **off** Gn 3/10, Cl 3, Dy 1/4, MG 2; **cross** Gn 3/7-8/10, Cl 3/5-7, P 16/21/25, Dy 1/4, MG 2; **quarry** Gn 1, Cl 3/5, P 16/20/25, Dy 1/4, MG 2; **wash** Cl 6, P 25, MG 2; **wasps** Gn 3, Cl 3/6, P 15/25, Dy 1/3-5; **wrong** Gn 3/10, Cl 3/6-7, P 21/25, Dy 1/3-5, WG 2, MG 2; **trough** Gn 3/10, Cl 3/5, Dy 4.

2. RP [ʌ] in **none** Cl 6; **nothing** Cl 6; **one** Gn 3/8, Cl 3/5-7, **onions** Dy 1.

LAE Maps Ph 128a, 126a show [ɔ] recorded in **none**, **nothing** and **one** in (*int. al.*) Cheshire that adjoins Clwyd.

3. RP [aʊ] in **cold** P 16; **colt** Gn 3/10, Cl 5-6, P 16.

4. RP [ɔ:] in **forks** Gn 3; **saw-dust** Cl 6, **slaughter-house** P 15-16, Dy 1.

/U/

2.22 The recorded realisations of /U/ are [u] and [ʏ].

[u]

2.23 [u] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [u] in **bull** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1/3-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **butcher** Gn 1/4/6/8-9, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-17/19-26, Dy 1-10/12-21/25, WG 1-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **put** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-21/23-26, Dy 1-15/18-20/22/24-

25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **woman** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-21/23-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1/3-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **wool** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-26, Dy 1-15/17-20, WG 1/3-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **foot** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 2-5/7-9/11-26, Dy 2-25, WG 1/3-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **sugar** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-13/15-26, Dy 2-6/8-13/15-19/21-25, WG 1/3/5-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-9.

2. RP [ʌ] in **butter** Cl 3, Dy 14/19-20/24; **furrow** Cl 3, Dy 19-20; **jump** Cl 3/6, P 4, Dy 14/19/24, WG 3; **onions** Gn 5, P 3; **suck** Cl 3, Dy 8/13-14/19-20; **uncle** Gn 9, Cl 3, Dy 15/20; **none** P 3, Dy 19; **nothing** Cl 3, Dy 14/20; **one** Cl 2.

The occurrences of this [ʊ] in Clwyd are probably sufficiently explained by the fact that the well-known northern English use of this sound as a reflex of RP [ʌ] is recorded by *SED* as far west as Cheshire. Occurrences at Welsh-speaking localities such as Gn 9, Dy 8/15 are perhaps to be compared with the loanwords into Welsh that retain ME /ʊ/ listed by Parry-Williams (Chap. III, 35), which include *bwtri* 'buttery', *mwsharwn* 'mushroom' (in the Demetian dialect); and a sucking-lamb is called in some dialects of Welsh *oen swci*. But whence came the [ʊ] to south Pembrokeshire (Dy 13-14/19-20/24)? In Co. D. So it appears only rarely in this group of words in the records of both *EDG* and *SED*, except for an enclave recorded by the latter at Co 3-7 in **suck** only.

3. RP [u:] in **goose** P 20/22, Dy 6/15/23, Gw 9; **hoof** Gn 4, Cl 6, P 10/16/20/22/25, Dy 6-8/10/14-17/19/21/24, WG 3-4, Gw 3-9; **root** P 20, Dy 14/23; **stool** Dy 23; **tooth** Gn 5-6, Cl 5, P 2-4/6-8/10/12-15/17-19/21-26, Dy 1-11/15-16/18-24, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9.

LAE Map Ph 142 records this [ʊ] in **hoof** in nSo, Gl, He, but not in those parts of Sa and Ch that adjoin Wales. In **tooth**, the two localities having [ʊ] in Sa are on the eastern side of the county, but this sound appears in all but one of the *SED* localities in He and all but one of those in Gl. More surprising (in view of the Anglo-Welsh occurrences in sDy, WG, MG and SG) is the paucity of instances in

Co. D. So: two only, at So 2/8. Evidently the extremely widespread Anglo-Welsh /Tʊθ/ emanated originally from the sw midland area of Eng., whence it spread west and south in Wales (there is no evidence in *EDG* of any larger spread of [ʊ] in sw. Eng. in earlier times).

4. RP [ɒ] in **fox** WG 6; **trough** p 11.

5. RP [əʊ] in **comb** P 25, Gw 1/3-5/7; **spokes** WG 1.

SED recordings of [ʊ] in **comb** include Sa 3/6-7/10, St 1/11, He 1-2/5-6, Wo 1/4/7, Wa 1-2/4-7, Mon 2/4/7, Gl 1-3/6, Ox 1/3.

6. RP [i:] in **sheaf** P 11/20.

SED records [ʃʊf] at He 3, Wo 1-7, Mon 2, Gl 1-2.

[ɜ]

2.24 [ɜ] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ʊ] in **butcher** Gn 10, Cl 3.

2. RP [ʌ] in **butter** Cl 3; **nothing** P 25; **onions** Gn 2; **suck** Gn 5, Cl 3.

/I:/

2.25 The recorded realisations of /I:/ are [i:], [i], [ɪ] and [ɪ̃].

[i:]

2.26 [i:], often of Cardinal quality, corresponds to the following:

1. RP [i:] in **cheese** and **weasel** in *all* attestations in all the investigated AW dialects; also **geese** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-19/21-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **grease** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-5/7/9-26, Dy 1-7/9-25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **key** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-7, P 1/3-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-2/4-9; **pea** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-26, Dy 1-8/10-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **sheaf** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-4, P 2-4/7-8/13-17/19/22-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-4, MG

1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **sheep** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-4/6-12/14-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **weeds** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-5/7, P 1-6/8-10/12-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **wheel** Gn 2-4/6/8-10, Cl 1-7, P 1/6-7/10/14-17/19-26, Dy 1-7/9-14/16/18-25, WG 1-5, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-9; **yeast** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-5/7-15/17-26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9.

2. RP [ɪ] in **bitch** Gn 6, Dy 2/4, WG 5.

EDG, but not *SED*, records this [i:] from wSo, which may be the source of the form recorded at WG 5.

3. RP [eɪ] in **break** Dy 24; **spade** Cl 3; **weigh** Cl 3.

EDG records [i:] in **break** from swD. *SED* records [i:] in **spade** at Ch 3, St 2 and in **weigh** at Ch 4/6, Db 4/6, Sa 4, St 3/6/9.

4. RP [e] in **deaf** WG 5.

EDG records this [i:] in **deaf** from Co D So, it is evidently a case of ME /ɛ:/ failing to be shortened but instead developing in its usual way to modern /i:/.

2.27 In addition, Anglo-Welsh [i:] occurs as follows:

1. (Usually in the combination /I:YΛ/ where RP has [ɪə]) in **ears** Gn 2/4-10, Cl 1/5; **hear** Gn 2-10, Cl 1-2/7, P 1-3/5-6/8-15/17-19, Dy 1-3/7-13/15/17/19/21/24, WG 3/5-6, Gw 5/9; **year** Gn 4-6/9, Cl 1-2.

2. (In the combination /I:YU:/ where RP has [ju:]) in **dew** Gn 3.

[i]

2.28 [i] (in the combination /I:ΛR/ where RP has [ɪə]) appears in **ears** Cl 7.

[ii]

2.29 [ii] corresponds to RP [i:] in **weeds** Cl 6; **grease** Gn 6/10; **key** Gn 6, Gw 3.

[ii]

2.30 [ii] corresponds to RP [i:] in **wheel** P 4-5/13.

/E:/

2.31 The recorded realisations of /E:/ are [e:], [ei], [ɛi], [eɪ:] and [æi].

In the dialects of Gn 2/5/9 and Cl 4, [e:] is the chief realisation, the diphthongal forms being recorded only as reflexes of an underlying Middle English /ai/ or /ɛi/, and only in word-final position. In the dialects of Dy 18, WG 1, MG 3, and SG 2-4, [ei] and [ɛi] appear only in words that have orthographic **ai**, **ay** or **ei** -- i.e. in some or all of *clay*, *drain*, *lay*, *tail*, *waistcoat*, *weigh*.

[e:]

2.32 [e:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [eɪ] in **bacon** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-2/4/6-7, P 15-17/19/21/23-24/26, Dy 1-2/5/13/16/24, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-2; **gate** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 15/17-18/21/24-26, Dy 2-5/8-10/15-18/21-22/24-25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1/3-4, Gw 3/7/9; **potatoes** Gn 1-9, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 15/17/21/23-24/26, Dy 1/3-6/18/24, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 7; **spade** Gn 1-2/4-8/10, Cl 1-7, P 15-17/19/21/23-24/26, Dy 1-6/8-11/15-18/23-24, WG 1/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 3/5/8-9; **take** Gn 1-7/9-10, Cl 2/4-6, P 16-17/19/23-24/26, Dy 3/5-6/9-10/16-19/22/24, WG 1/5, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2/8-9; **waistcoat** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-3/5/7, P 17/19/23-26, Dy 3-4/6/16/25, WG 1-2/5, MG 2-3, SG 1-3, Gw 2-3; **clay** Gn 1-2/4-9, Cl 1-2/4, P 17, Dy 4/24, WG 2, Gw 9; **lay** *inf.* Gn 1/4-7/9, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 16-17, Dy 23-24, WG 2; **tail** Gn 1-9, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 16-17, Dy 1-2/5/9-10/13/19/22-24, SG 1, Gw 9; **weigh** Gn 2/4/7, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 16-17, Dy 2-3/16/21, WG 2; **break** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-6, P 15-17/23-26, Dy 3/5-6/8-10/15-19/22-23, WG 1-2/4-5, MG 2-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2/8-9; **drain** Gn 1-2/4-5/7/9-10,

Cl 1-2/4, P 17/19, Dy 1-6/21/24-25, WG 2/5-6, MG 2, Gw 9.

The [e] in these forms may in some cases be a sound-substitution of Welsh *ê*, but these cases are difficult to distinguish from those in which the sound may be a borrowing from neighbouring dialects of England, see *LAE Maps Ph 60/64/70a/71a/85-86/163/165/167*.

2. RP [æ] in **apples** P 16.
3. RP [ɛə] in **hare** Gn 7, Dy 22, MG 2; **mare** MG 2; **pears** Dy 12, MG 2, WG 2.
4. RP [i:] in **yeast** WG 6.
5. RP [ɑ:] in **chaff** Dy 24.
6. RP [e] in **deaf** Dy 1.
7. RP [aɪ] in **ivy** MG 2.

2.33 In addition, [e:] appears (in the combination /E:R/ where RP has [ɛə]) in **hare** Gn 7.

[ei]

2.34 [ei] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ei] in **bacon** Gn 3, Cl 5, P 6-10/18/20/22/25, Dy 3-4/6-10/12/14-15/17/20-23/25, Gw 3-9; **gate** Cl 3, P 8-9/14/16/20/22-23, Dy 1/6-7/12-14/19-20/23, SG 2, Gw 1-2/4-6/8; **potatoes** Gn 10, Cl 3/6, P 3/6/8-9/12/14/18/20/22/25, Dy 7-12/14-17/19/21-22/25, WG 3-6, Gw 1-6/9; **spade** Gn 3, Cl 3, P 1/8/19/22/25, Gw 1-2/4/6-7; **take** Gn 8, Cl 1-3/7, P 6/14-15/18/20-22/25, Dy 1-2/4/7-8/11-15/20-21/23, WG 2-4/6, MG 2, Gw 1/3-7; **waistcoat** Gn 3/10, Cl 3/6, P 8-10/14/18, Dy 1-2/7-15/17/19-23/25, WG 4, MG 1, SG 4, Gw 1/4-5/7/9; **break** Cl 3, P 6/14/18-19/22, Dy 1/7/11-14/20-21, WG 3/6, MG 1, Gw 1/3-7; **drain** Gn 3/6/8, Cl 3/5-6, P 2-3/6/8-10/14/16/18/20-23/25-26, Dy 7-16/18-20/22-23, WG 1/3-4, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-8; **clay** Gn 3/10, Cl 3, P 10/14-16/18-19/21-23/25-26, Dy 4-8/10/12-15/17-22/25, WG 3-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-8; **lay inf.** Gn 2-3/8/10, Cl 3, P 15/18-23/25-26, Dy

2-22/25, WG 1/3-6, MG 1/3, SG 2-4, Gw 1-9; **tail** Gn 10, Cl 3/5, P 14-15/18-19/22/24-26, Dy 3-4/6-8/11-12/14-18/20-21/25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 2-4, Gw 1-8; **weigh** Gn 1/3/5/8-10, Cl 2-4, P 1/7-9/14-15/19/22-26, Dy 1/4/6-14/17-20, WG 1/4/6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9.

2. RP [ɛə] in **hare** /'HE:YΛ/ Dy 21, **mare** /'ME:YΛ/ WG 5; **pears** /'PE:YΛZ/ WG 6.

3. RP [i:] in **grease** WG 5.

LAE (Map Ph 74) records [ei] in **grease** at Co 4/6-7 and D 1/7-10.

4. RP [aɪ] in **hive**, **ivy** Dy 13.

[ɛi]

2.35 [ɛi] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɛi] in **bacon** P 1-5/11-13, Dy 11; **gate** P 1-6/10-13, Dy 11; **potatoes** P 1-2/4-5/7/13; **spade** P 2-7/9-13/18/20; **take** Gn 10, P 1-5/7/9-13, Dy 25; **waistcoat** P 1-5/7/11-13; **clay** Cl 5-6, P 2/4-5/7-9/11-13/20/24, Dy 1/3/11, WG 1/5; **lay inf.** Cl 6, P 1-14/24, Dy 1, MG 2; **tail** P 1-5/7-13/21/23; **weigh** Cl 3/6, P 2-6/10-13/18/20-21, Dy 5/15, WG 3/5, MG 2; **break** P 1-5/8-13/20, Dy 2/24-25; **drain** P 1/4-5/7/11-13/24.

The [ɛi] in **break** Dy 24-25 may be a borrowing from the enclave recorded by *SED* at Co 1-3/5/7, D 1-4/7/9/11.

2. RP [ɛə] in **chair** P 5/22.

3. RP [aɪ] in **eye** P 7, Dy 13; **flies** Dy 13; **hive**, **white** Dy 24.

4. RP [aɪə] in **iron** /'E:RAN/ Dy 24.

[eɪ:]

2.36 [eɪ:] corresponds to RP [ɛə] in **chair** Dy 19; **hare** WG 4.

[æi]

2.37 [æi] corresponds to RP [ei] in

lay *inf.* P 20; tail P 20.

SED recordings of this [æi] in the West Midlands include *lay inf.* He 3-5, Wa 5, Mon 1, Gl 1-3/5-6; *tail* He 2-4/6, Wa 2/5-6, Mon 1, Gl 1/3/5-6, Ox 1.

/Œ:/

2.38 The recorded realisations of /Œ:/ are [œ:], [ø:], [ø̄:] and [ʌ:].

[œ:]

2.39 [œ:], which is normally centralised and raised (often towards lowered and centralised [ø:]) corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɜ:] in *first* Gn 3/6/10, Cl 3/5-7, P 15/21/23-26, Dy 5/14/16/18, WG 1, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-8; *third* Gn 3/6/10, Cl 3/5-6, P 3/15-16/23-26, Dy 4-5/14/16/18/20, WG 1-2/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-9; *heard* Gn 10, Cl 3/6, P 3/15/23-26, Dy 1/5/18/20-23, WG 1-2/5, MG 1-3, SG 1-3, Gw 2-3/5/7-8; *work n.* Gn 6/10, Cl 3/6, P 1/13/23-26, Dy 1/4/14-15/18, WG 1-2/5-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-8.

SED records [œ:] in *first* Mon 3/5, *third* Mon 3-5, Gl 4; *heard* Mon 3-5/7; *work n.* Mon 3-5/7.

2. RP [ɪə] in *year* Cl 3, P 15/23/25, Dy 1/3-4/14/18/24-25, WG 1-2/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5-6/8.

SED records [œ:] in *year* at Mon 3-5.

3. RP [ɛə] in *hare* Cl 3.

2.40 [œ:] appears also in the combination /YŒ:/ (where RP has [ɪə]) in *ears* Gn 6, P 16/19-21/23-24/26, Dy 3-4/6-7/9/12/14/25, WG 1-3, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/8; *hear* P 21/23-26, Dy 3-4/6/9/12/14/25, WG 1-4, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/7-8.

SED records [œ:] in *ears* Mon 7; *hear* Mon 3-5/7. For the [j-] element in *ears* see Wright, *EMEG* § 117.

2.41 For the possible genesis of

[œ:] in Anglo-Welsh, see Sweet, *Primer of Phonetics* § 62.

[ø:]

2.42 [ø:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɜ:] in *first* Gn 1-2/4-5/7-9, Cl 1-2/4/7, P 1-2/4-14/19/22, Dy 2/6-9/11-12/15/17/20/22-23, WG 3-4/6; *third* Gn 1-2/4-5/7-10, Cl 1-2/4/7, P 1-2/4-14/19/22, Dy 1-2/6/8-9/11-12/15/21-23, WG 3-4; *heard* Gn 1-9, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 1-2/4-14/19/21-22, Dy 2/4/6-12/15-17/25, WG 4; *work n.* Gn 1-5/7-9, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 2/4-7/9/11-12/14/19/21-22, Dy 2/6-12/16-17/21-23/25, WG 3-4.

2. RP [ɪə] in *year* Gn 1-2/7-8/10, Cl 2/4/7, P 21/24/26, Dy 5/12, WG 3-4.

2.43 Anglo-Welsh [jə:] corresponds to RP [ɪə] in *ears* Gn 1, Cl 4, Dy 11/17/20/22; *hear* Gn 1-2/4, Cl 4, Dy 5/18.

For the [j-] element in these forms see Wright, *Elementary Middle English Grammar* § 117.

[ø̄:]

2.44 [ø̄:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɜ:] in *first* P 17/20, Dy 13/19/24-25, WG 5, Gw 1/4/6/9; *third* P 17-18/20, Dy 13/19/24-25, WG 5, Gw 1/4/6; *heard* P 16-18/20, Dy 13-14/19/24, WG 6, SG 4, Gw 1/4/6/9; *work n.* P 10/15-18/20, Dy 19-20, Gw 1/4/6/9.

SED recordings of [ø̄:] in the West Midlands and South are: *first* Sa 1-4/6-11, He 1, Mon 6, Gl 2; So 1-3, Co 3/5-7, D 2/4-6/8; *third* Sa 1-11, He 1-6, Mon 1-2/6, Gl 1-3/5-7, So 1-13, Co 1/3-7, D 1-11; *heard* Sa 1/3-4/6/10-11, He 2-3/5-6, Mon 1/6, Gl 1-3/5-7; So 1-13, Co 1-7, D 1-11; *work n.* Sa 1-7/10-11, He 1-6, Mon 1/6, Gl 1-7; So 1-13, Co 1-7, D 1-11.

2. RP [ɪə] in *year* P 16, Dy 13, Gw 7.

Cf. LAE Map Ph 102.

2.45 Anglo-Welsh [jə^ɾ:] corresponds to RP [ɪə] in **cars** Gw 4/6/9; **hear** P 16/20, Gw 4/6.

SED recordings of the same combination in the West Midlands include **cars** He 1/4, Wo 1-2/4, Gl 1-2/4-7; **hear** Wo 2, Mon 6, Gl 1-2/4-7. For the [j-] element see Wright, *Elementary Middle English Grammar* § 117.

[ʌ:]

2.46 [ʌ:] corresponds to RP [ɜ:] in **work** n. Dy 13.

/ɛ:/

2.47 The recorded realisations of /ɛ:/ are [ɛ:], [ɛ^ɾ:], [ɛə], [ɛə^ɾ], [eœ], [eə] and [eə^ɾ].

[ɛ:]

2.48 [ɛ:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɛə] in **chair** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-6, P 15/21/23-26, Dy 1/3-4/8/12/14-15/18/22/25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-5/7-8; **hare** Gn 1-6/8-10, Cl 1-5, P 15-16/21/23-26, Dy 1-2/4-7/9-12/15-18/23, WG 1-2, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/7-9; **mare** Gn 1-10, Cl 1/3-5/7, P 7/24-26, Dy 1-2/4/7/10-11/15-16/18/21-23, WG 1-4, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-9; **pears** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-5, P 16/21/23-26, Dy 1-7/10-11/14/16-18/20/23/25, WG 1/3-5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/7-9.

Forms similar to these are recorded only very sporadically by SED in the areas immediately adjoining Wales.

2. RP [eɪ] in **bacon** Dy 1/18; **gate** WG 5; **potatoes** P 19, Dy 13; **spade** P 14, WG 3/5; **break** Cl 7.

SED recordings of this [ɛ:] include **bacon** So 5/8/10, D 1/5/7.

3. RP [ɜ:] in **heard** WG 3; **work** Cl 2.

4. RP [e] in **twelve** Cl 7.

[ɛ^ɾ:]

2.49 [ɛ^ɾ:] corresponds to RP [ɛə] in **chair** Dy 7/24, Gw 6/9; **hare** Dy 13, 14/25; **mare** Cl 6, Dy 12/14/20/25, Gw 6.

SED records this [ɛ^ɾ:] in the South in **chair** So 2/10/12; **hare** So 1-13; **mare** So 2-3.

[ɛə]

2.50 [ɛə] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɛə] in **chair** Cl 3, P 1-4/6-14/19, Dy 1-2/6/11/17/20, Gw 2; **hare** P 1-14/19/22, Dy 3/8, WG 3/5-6, Gw 1; **mare** Cl 3, P 1-6/9-14/19/22-23, Dy 3/9/13/17; **pears** Cl 6, P 1-15/19-20/22, Dy 9/15, Gw 1.

2. RP [eɪ] in **break** Dy 4.

[ɛə^ɾ]

2.51 [ɛə^ɾ] corresponds to RP [ɛə] in **chair** P 17-18, Dy 13; **hare** Cl 6, P 17-18, Dy 19-20/24, Gw 4-6; **mare** P 17-18, Dy 6/24, Gw 4; **pears** P 17-18, Gw 4-6.

SED recordings of forms similar to these include **chair** Sa 6/9, He 1-3; Co 1-3, 5-6, D 1-8/11; **hare** and **mare** widely in Sa He Mon; So Co D; **pears** widely in He and Mon.

[eœ]

2.52 [eœ] corresponds to RP [ɛə] in **hare** P 21; **mare** P 20.

[eə]

2.53 [eə] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɛə] in **chair** P 16; **hare** P 20; **mare** P 19, Dy 8, WG 6; **pears** Dy 19/21.

2. RP [eɪ] in **gate** P 19.

3. RP [ɑ:] in **calf** P 15.

[eə^ɾ]

2.54 [eə^ɾ] corresponds to RP [ɛə] in **chair** P 20; **mare** P 15, Dy 19.

/A:/

2.55 The recorded realisations of /A:/ are [a:], [a^ɾ:], [aə], [aɛ], [æ:], [ɑ:], [ɑ^ɾ:] and [ɑə].

[a:]

2.56 [a:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɑ:] in **arm** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-4/6-7, P 15-16/19/21/23-24/26, Dy 1-10/12/16-17/20-22/25, WG 1/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-8; **farmer** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 15/19/21/23-24/26, Dy 2/4/6-8/12-13/16/18-23/25, MG 2-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-9; **farthing** Gn 1-2/4-8/10, Cl 1-7, P 15/19/21, Dy 1-2/4-7/9-14/16-18/21, MG 2-3, SG 2-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-9; **branch** Gn 7, Cl 5, P 3, MG 2; **draught** Gn 2/4-5/8/10, Cl 1-2/5, P 14/24/26, Dy 1/24-25, WG 3, MG 1-3, SG 3-4, Gw 4-6/8; **calf** Gn 1-9, Cl 1-7, P 7/19/21/23-24/26, Dy 2-5/12/18-20/24-25, WG 5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-8; **chaff** P 21, WG 6, MG 3, Gw 4-6/8; **grass** Gn 5-8, Cl 5, P 15-16/19/22/24, WG 2, MG 2-3, Gw 4/6-8.

LAE (Maps Ph 11/20-21) records [a:] in **arm**, **farmer** and **farthing** widely in the North, Midlands and Mon although only in *parts* of Ch and nSa as regards areas immediately adjacent to Wales. SED records [a:] in **branch** Sa 2, St 5/7, Wo 3/5/7, Wa 2-6, Mon 3/6, Gl 1-2/5-7, Ox 1-3/5, So 5, Do 5; **draught** Db 1, Sa 1/3-6/10-11, He 1-2/4/7, Wo 2-3/6-7, Wa 2-7, Mon 2-3/5-7, Gl 2/4-6, Ox 1-6; So 5/7-12, Co 1-3, D 1-11. LAE (Map Ph 9) records [a:] in **calf** at (*int. al.*) Sa 1-3, He 5/7, Mon 3-5; So 6-7/9-10/12, Co 1-3, D 1-3/8-9. SED records [a:] in **chaff** widely in the Midlands and south-west, including Sa 3-4, He 1-2/7, Mon 3-6; So 5/7-10/12, Co 1-5, D 1-3/6-11; so too in **grass** including Sa 1-4/6-9/11, He 1-4/7, Mon 2-6, Gl 2/4-7, So 5/7-12, Co 1-4, D 1-4/6-11.

2. RP [æ] in **rabbits** P 23; **thatch** Dy 18; **lamb** Dy 24; **man** Gn 10, P 15, Gw 2.

SED recordings of [a:] in **man** include Mon 1-7.

3. RP [ɒ] in **quarry** Gn 10.

4. RP [ei] in **waistcoat** P 20.

SED records this [a:] at He 4.

2.57 [a:] appears in the combination /'A:YA/ that corresponds to RP [aɪə] in **fire** at WG 2.

[a^ɾ:]

2.58 [a^ɾ:] corresponds to RP [ɑ:] in **arm** P 18/20, Dy 19, Gw 4/6/9; **farmer** P 16/18/20, Gw 1/4/6; **farthing** P 16/18, Dy 19, Gw 4/6; **draught** P 17; **calf** P 18, Gw 4/6/9; **grass** P 18, Gw 9.

SED records [a^ɾ:] in **arm** at (*int. al.*) Sa 1/3-11, He 1-2, Wo 2, Mon 1/6, Gl 1-6; So 1-3/5-13, Co 1-2/4-7, D 1-7; **farmer** (*int. al.*) Sa 1/3-11, He 1-6, Mon 1/6, Gl 1-7; So 1-13, Co 1-2/4-7, D 1-7; **farthings** (*int. al.*) Sa 4-7/9, He 3/5, Mon 1, Gl 1/3/6-7; So 1-13, Co 1-2/4-7, D 2-7/10.

[aə]

2.59 [aə] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɑ:] in **chaff** P 9; **draught** P 2/5/8-9/11/13.

2. RP [auə] in **flour** P 10; **hour** Dy 14.

3. RP [æ] in **that** P 10, **thatch** P 13.

[aɛ]

2.60 [aɛ] corresponds to RP [auə] in **hour** P 4.

[æ:]

2.61 [æ:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɑ:] in **branch** P 20; **calf** P 20; **chaff** P 20.

The only West Midland locality where SED records [æ:] in **branch** is Wo 6, but it is

recorded in **draught** at Sa 7/9, Wo 4-5, Gl 1/3. In **calf** the nearest recordings of [æ:] are at Gl 1/3, and in **chaff** at He 3, Wo 5, Gl 1-3.

2. RP [æ] in **man** P 20.

[ɑ:]

2.62 [ɑ:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɑ:] in **arm** Cl 5, P 3/5-6/10/13/22/25, Dy 11/14-15/18/23-24, WG 2-5 (at P 3 the vowel is in the combination /A:R/); **farmer** Cl 5, P 1-13/22/25, Dy 14, WG 1/3-6, MG 1 (at P 6/9 the vowel is in the combination /A:R/); **farthing** Gn 3/9, P 1/3-14/22-26, Dy 20/24-25, WG 1-6, MG 1, SG 1; **branch** Dy 11; **draught** P 4/10/22; **calf** Gn 10, Cl 3/5, P 1-6/8-9/11-12/14/22, Dy 9/11/13/15, WG 1-4; **chaff** P 10/22; **grass** P 1/7/10-11, WG 6.

2. RP [i:] in **sheaf** P 9.

3. RP [ɔ:] in **straw** Dy 23.

LAE (Map Ph 172) shows an enclave of forms of **straw** containing [ɑ:] in the West Midlands, including He Mon Gl.

4. RP [ɒ] in **quarry** Dy 24.

[ɑː]

2.63 [ɑː] corresponds to RP [ɑ:] in **arm** P 17, Dy 13; **farmer** Dy 24; **farthing** P 17; **branch** P 17; **calf** WG 6; **grass** P 17.

SED records this [ɑː] in **arm** He 4, Wo 3-4; D 8-11 and in some south-easterly areas around Sussex. With **farmer** Dy 24 cf. *LAE* (Map Ph 20) recordings for Co 3, D 8-11; and with **farthing** P 17 cf. *LAE* recordings (Map Ph 21) for Sa 11, He 4, Wo 4.

[ɑə]

2.64 [ɑə] corresponds to RP [ɑ:] in **arm** P 1/4/8-9/11-12; **draught** P 12.

/ɔ:/

2.65 The recorded realisations of

/ɔ:/ are [ɔ:], [ɔː] and [ɒ].

[ɔ:]

2.66 [ɔ:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɔ:] in **forks** Gn 1-2/4-5/7-10, Cl 1-4/7, P 1/3/6-11/14-15/19/21-26, Dy 1-5/7-8/11-12/14-18/20-23/25, WG 1/3-6, MG 2-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-8; **morning** Gn 1-7/9-10, Cl 1/3-5/7, P 1-14/19/22-26, Dy 1-12/14-18/20-23, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-9; **walk** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1/4-12/14-16/19-26, Dy 2-18/20-23/25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-8; **saw-dust** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-5/7, P 1-5/8-15/19/22-25, Dy 2/4-8/10-12/14-19/21-22, WG 1-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-2/5/7-8; **slaughter-house** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-14/19/21-26, Dy 2-4/6-9/11-12/14-15/18/20/22/24-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-9; **straw** Gn 1-8/10, Cl 1-5/7, P 1/3-5/7-8/10/13/15-16/19/21-26, Dy 2-12/14-15/17-22/25, WG 1-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5/7-9; also RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **boar** Gn 3/5/10, Cl 3/5/7, P 3/10/25, Dy 2-3/5-6/9/11/16/21-22, WG 2-4, Gw 1/8; **door** Gn 2-3/6/10, Cl 4-5/7, P 6/22-23/25, Dy 2-9/11-12/14-15/19/21-25, WG 4, MG 1, Gw 5/8; **four** Gn 2-4/6/10, Cl 1/3-4/7, P 8/12/14-16/21-22, Dy 2-6/11/14-17/20-21/23/25, MG 2, Gw 1/8-9.

2. RP [əʊ] in **coal** WG 3-5, Gw 1; **comb** Gn 10, Cl 3, WG 4-6; **foal** Gn 1/3, Cl 7, WG 5; **oak** Gn 10, Cl 7, WG 3; **road** WG 3-6, Gw 1; **spokes** Gn 7, Cl 5, Dy 25, WG 3-6; **toad** Gn 10, WG 4-6; **cold** Dy 20; **old** P 16, Dy 5; **colt** WG 2; **yolk** Gn 1, Dy 4/7/11, WG 3-6, MG 3.

SED records [ɔ:] in **coal** W 1/3-5, Brk 4, D 1-4; **comb** So 2; **oak** W 3-4, Co 7; **road** So 9, W 1/3-7, Co 6, D 2-4; **spokes** So 6, Co 6; **toad** Brk 4; **old** He 2; W 4, Co 6; **yolk** W 4-5, Co 6, D 2.

3. RP [ɒ] in **off** Cl 7, P 10/15/20-21/25, Dy 3/21/23-25, Gw 1; **cross** P 2/5/10, SG 3, Gw 1; **dog** P 10; **wrong** Dy 24; **quarry** Dy 5/9; **wash** P 13, Gw 2.

SED records this [ɔ:] in **off** Ch 1/6, Db 1, Sa 4/6-11, He 1-2, Wo 7, Wa 2-7, Mon 4-5, Gl 5-7, Ox 1-6; So 1-13, W 1-2/4-9, Brk 1/3/5, Sr 1-5, K 1-7, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-6, Sx 1-6; **cross** Ch 6, Sa 2-3/7-11, He 1-2, Wo 7, Wa 2/4-7, Gl 5-7, Ox 1-3/5; So 2-11/13, W 1-2/4-6/8-9, Brk 1/3/5, Sr 1-3, K 1-2/4-5, Co 1-7, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3/5-6, Sx 2-5; **dog** Sa 1/4/7-11, He 1-2, Ox 6, also in some Southern localities; **wrong** in the South at So 5/9, W 8, Do 2/4-5, Ha 1/5-6.

4. RP [ɑ:f] in **draught** in the form /DRɔ:T/ Dy 12.

5. RP [i:] in **sheaf** P 1.

6. RP [ɜ:] in **work** Cl 5.

7. RP [u:] in **root** Dy 10, **stool** Dy 2, WG 5.

[ɔː]

2.67 [ɔː] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɔ:] in **forks** Cl 6, P 17/20, Dy 6/19/24, Gw 4/6/9; **morning** Cl 6, P 15-18/20, Dy 13/19/24, Gw 4/6; **walk** P 18, Dy 19, Gw 4/6/9; **saw-dust** P 17-18/20, Dy 24, Gw 4/6/9; **slaughter** P 17-18/20, Dy 13, Gw 4/6; **straw** P 17-18/20, Gw 4/6; also RP [ɔ:] varying with [ɔə] in **boar** Dy 12-14/19-20/25, WG 5-6, Gw 4/6; **door** P 17, Gw 6; **four** P 17-18/20/25, Dy 7/13/19, WG 6, Gw 4/6. [ɔː] occurs also in **furrow** /Vɔ:/ at Dy 19-20/24.

SED records [ɔː] in the West Midlands and South in **forks** Sa 1-7/9-10, He 1-2, Wa 5-6, Gl 7, Ox 1/3/5; So 5/7-9/12, W 7, Co 1-3/5-6, D 1-11; **morning** Db 1, Sa 1/3-7/9-11, He 1, Wa 5-7, Gl 6, Ox 1/5-6; So 5-13, Co 1/3-7, D 1-11, Ha 1-2/4; **walk** Sa 3-4/6; **saw-dust** Sa 9-10, Wa 6; **slaughter** Sa 1/3-4/6-7/9/11; **straw** Sa 1-2/4/9-10; **boar** Sa 1, Gl 7; So 1-3/7/12-13, W 1/3/6-8, D 10, Do 1, Ha 1; **door** Sa 5; So 2/11, W 1, Ha 2; **four** So 6, W 4, Co 5-6, Do 2, Ha 2.

2. RP [ɒ] in **off** P 16/18; **cross** P 18.

SED records [ɔː] in **off** Sa 1; **cross** Sa 4.

[ɔ:]

2.68 [ɔ:] corresponds to RP [ɔ:] in **forks** Cl 5/7; **morning** Cl 2; **straw** Dy 1; **walk** Dy 1.

/O:/

2.69 The recorded realisations of /O:/ are [o:], [ou], [ɔu] and [əu] (this last occurs as a realisation of /O:/ in some dialects, of /Au/ in others).

[o:]

2.70 [o:] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [əu] in **coal** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-16/18-21/23-26, Dy 1-3/5-6/8/10/15-18, WG 1, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/7-9; **comb** Gn 1-8, Cl 1-2/5, P 3-5/9/11-12/14/16/19/22/26, Dy 1/3-5/7/18, WG 1-2, MG 1-2, SG 1-3, Gw 2/8-9; **foal** Gn 2/4-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-16/21/23-26, Dy 1/3-4/6/18/21/23, WG 1/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 3/5/7-9; **oak** Gn 1-2/4-9, Cl 1-2/4-6, P 1-6/8-16/19/21/23-26, Dy 2/4-6/9-10/13/15-16/18/21-24, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/8; **road** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-14/16/19/23-26, Dy 1-6/9-10/15-18/21-24, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-9; **spokes** Gn 1-3/5-6/8-10, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 1-12/14-16/19/22-24/26, Dy 1-6/8-10/13/18/21/23-24, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1-2/4, Gw 2-3/7-9; **toad** Gn 1-2/4-6, Cl 1-2/4-6, P 1-6/8-16/18-19/21/23-26, Dy 1-5/8/10/15-18/21-22/25, WG 1-3, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/8-9; **cold** Gn 1-2/4-5/7-8/10, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 1-11/13-16/20-21/25, Dy 1/3/6/10/15, WG 5, Gw 2; **old** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 1-15/19/21/23-24, Dy 1-3/5-6/10/18/22, WG 2, Gw 2/8-9; **colt** Gn 6, Cl 2/5, P 1-2/4-6/8-12/14-15/19/21-22/24, Dy 1-5/15/17-18, Gw 2/8-9; **yolk** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-2/4-15/18-19/21-26, Dy 1-3/6/10/15-17/21-22, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/7/9; **snow** Gn 1-2/4-6/8-10, Cl 1-5/7, P 1-14/21-22, Dy 1/3-6/10/15/17/21, Gw 2/8-9; **shoulder** Gn 2-4/6-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-15/19/21/25, Dy 1-3/5-6, MG 2, Gw 2/9.

In many localities, this [o:] may be a sound-substitution of Welsh δ . But there are also large enclaves of [o] in words of this class in the English West Midlands, for instances of these, see *LAE* Maps Ph 120a (**comb**); Ph 122a (**spokes**); Ph 123a (**toad**); Ph 124a (**oak**); Ph 132a (**cold**), Ph 133a (**old**); Ph 41a (**colt**); Ph 43a (**yolk**), Ph 190 (**snow**); Ph 55 (**shoulder**).

2. RP [ɒ] in **cross** Dy 24, **porridge** Dy 22; finally in **trough**. P 19/21-22, SG 1-3, appearing also in a by-form /TRO:V/ at P 19.

3. RP [u:] in the combination [ju:] in **ewe** (/YO:/) at Gw 1.

This [o:] is recorded very widely in parts of sw.England, but not very near Gw 1.

4. RP [ʊ] in **foot** P 1.

5. RP [ɔ:] in **forks** WG 2, MG 1; **morning** Gn 8; **saw-dust** Dy 1; **straw** Gn 8-9, Dy 13/24; **walk** Gn 8.

LAE (Map Ph 172) shows [o:] in **straw** Co 1/5-7, which may be the source of the examples at Dy 13/24.

So too [o:] corresponds to RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **boar** Gn 1-2/4/8-9, Cl 1/4, P 23-24/26, Dy 1/4/8/18, WG 1, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7; **door** Gn 1/4-5/7-9, Cl 1-2, P 1/6/24/26, Dy 1, WG 1-2, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3; **four** Gn 1/5/7-9, Cl 2/5, P 7/23-24/26, Dy 1/18, WG 1, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5.

6. RP [i:] in **sheaf** P 5-6/10-13.

7. [o:] appears also in **furrow** /VO:R/ Dy 21.

[ou]

2.71 [ou] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [əu] in **coal** P 17/22, Dy 7/13-14/19-20/25, Gw 4-6; **comb** Cl 6, P 17-18, Dy 12/19-20/23/25, WG 3, SG 4, Gw 6; **foal** P 17-20/22, Dy 7/11-12/14/20/24-25, WG 2/4, Gw 1-2/4/6; **oak** P 17-18/20/22, Dy 1/7/11-12/14/19-20/25, WG 5, Gw 4-7/9; **road** Gn 3, Cl 3, P 15/17/20/22, Dy

12-14/19-20/25, Gw 4/6; **spokes** Cl 3/6, P 17-18/20-21, Dy 11-12/14/19-20/22, SG 3, Gw 1/4-6; **toad** P 17/20/22, Dy 6-7/12-14/19-20, Gw 4-7; **cold** Gn 3/9, P 12/17/19/22-24/26, Dy 7/11-12/14/25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-9; **old** P 17/22/26, Dy 4/7/12/14/19-20, WG 1/3-4/6, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-7; **colt** P 17-18/23/25-26, Dy 6-7/9/11-12/20/22/25, WG 1/4, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-9; **yolk** P 17/19-20, Dy 12/14/19-20/23/25, Gw 1/4-6/8; **snow** Gn 3/7, Cl 6, P 15-19/23/26, Dy 7/9/12/18-19/25, WG 1-5, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-7; **shoulder** Gn 1/5, P 16-18/20/22-24/26, WG 1/6, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-8.

2. RP [au] in **cow** Dy 7; **plough** P 6, WG 1; **snout** Dy 11; **sow** n. P 3/19.

Of these localities, all but P 19 are places where the [ou] may arise from Welsh-speakers interpreting orthographic **ou**, **ow** as in e.g. *soul*, *low*.

3. RP [ɒ] in **trough** P 15/17-18/20/23/26, Dy 14/19, WG 5-6, MG 3, SG 4, Gw 1/3-4/6/8; at all but WG 2 this [ou] is word-final.

SED records final [ou] in **trough** at Wa 6, Mon 4-5, Ox 6; So 1/3/6/10-11, W 1, Brk 3-4.

4. RP [u:] in **goose** Dy 25; **stool** Dy 14.

5. RP [i:] in **sheaf** P 18.

This form presumably derives from MLG or MDu *schöf*. *SED* records an isolated instance of this [ou] at He 7, c. 10 miles SE of P 18.

6. RP [ɔ:] varying with [ɔə] in **four** Dy 12.

[ɔu]

2.72 [ɔu] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [əu] in **coal** Gn 3, Cl 3, Dy 11, WG 2/6; **comb** Cl 3/7, Dy 13-14/24; **foal** Dy 13/17/19; **oak** Gn 3, Cl 3, Dy 3/24, WG 4/6; **road** Cl 3, P 18, Dy 7; **spokes** Cl 3, P 25, Dy 17, WG 3; **toad** Gn 3/8, Cl 3, Dy 11; **cold** Gn

6/10, Cl 3/5-7, Dy 2/5/13/19/24, MG 2; **old** Gn 3/10, Cl 3, P 25, Dy 11/13/24-25, WG 5, MG 1-2; **colt** Cl 3/5, Dy 13-14, MG 2; **yolk** Dy 5; **snow** Gn 10, P 24-25, Dy 11/13-14/20/24, WG 6, MG 1-2; **shoulder** Gn 10, Cl 3/7, Dy 24, MG 1.

SED records [ɔu] in **cold** at Co 2-3, and in **colt** at Co 2/4/7, D 10-11.

2. RP [au] in **snout** WG 4; **sow** n. P 21, WG 4.

3. RP [ɒ] in **trough** P 25 (where the diphthong is word-final) and WG 2/4.

4. RP [u:] in **stool** Dy 24.

5. RP [ɔ:] in **saw-dust** Dy 9.

[əu]

2.73 [əu] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [əu] in **coal** Dy 4/23; **foal** Dy 15-16; **oak** Dy 8/17/24; **spokes** Dy 15; **toad** Dy 23; **cold** Dy 4/8-9/16-17/21-23; **old** Dy 8-9/15-17/21/23; **colt** Dy 8/10/16/21/23; **yolk** Dy 8; **snow** Dy 8-9/16/22-23; **shoulder** Dy 8-10/15-17/21-22.

2. RP [ɒ] in **trough** Dy 10/21/23.

3. RP [ɔ:] in **saw-dust** Dy 23.

2.74 [əu] appears also (in the combination /ɔ:WΛ/) in words that in RP have [aʊə], namely **flour** Dy 10 and **hour** Dy 8/10/17. See also § 2.100.

/U:/

2.75 The recorded realisations of /U:/ are [u:], [u], [aʊə], [ɔ:] and [uu].

[u:]

2.76 [u:], often of Cardinal quality, corresponds to the following:

1. RP [u:] in **goose** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-4/6-7, P 1-5/10/13-17/19/21/23-26, Dy 1-5/7-14/16-22, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-8; **hoof** Gn 1-3/5-

10, Cl 1-7, P 1-9/11-15/17-19/21/23-24/26, Dy 1-5/9/11-13/18/20/22-23/25, WG 1-2/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-2/8; **root** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-5/7/9-19/21-26, Dy 1-7/9/11-13/15-22/24-25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **stool** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-6, P 1/3/5/8/12/15-26, Dy 1/3/5-7/10-13/18-20/22/25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-5/7-9; **tooth** Gn 1-4/7-10, Cl 1-7, P 1/5/9/11/16, Dy 12-14/17/25; **two** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-24/26, Dy 1-25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-4/6-9; **suet** Gn 1-4/6/8/10, Cl 1-6, P 1-20/22/25, Dy 2-5/7-15/17/20-22/25, WG 2-4/6, Gw 1-6/8.

2. RP [u:] in the combination [ju:] in **dew** Gn 3, Cl 3/5-7, P 1-4/7-12/17/20-22, Dy 1-8/10-14/19-20/25, WG 2-3, MG 2, Gw 1/4/6/9; **ewe** Gn 3/10, Cl 3/6-7, P 1-7/9-14/16-19/21-22/25, Dy 1-5/7-12/15-16/18-19/21/23/25, WG 2-4/6, Gw 2/4/6/9; **Tuesday** Gn 2-3/6/10, Cl 3/5-7, P 1-2/4-22/25, Dy 1-5/7/10-14/18-20/25, WG 2-3/6, MG 2, Gw 1-2/4/6/8-9.

3. RP [u] in **butcher** Dy 11/22; **wool** Gn 10, P 10, Dy 16/21; **sugar** P 14/19, Dy 1/7/14/20, WG 2/4, Gw 2.

4. RP [əu] in **coal** Dy 24; **comb** Gn 2/5/7-9, P 1-2/6-8/10/13/15/20-21/23-24, Dy 2/6/8-11/15-17/21-22, MG 3; **spokes** Dy 7; **toad** Dy 20/24-25; **yolk** Cl 3, Dy 13/24.

LAE records this [u] in **comb** (Map Ph 120a) at Ch 2, Db 3, St 2 in the West Midlands and Co 1-2, D 1-2/4-5/7-8/11 in the South; in **spokes** (Map Ph 122a) at Ch 5, St 5, Co 1-2; and **toad** (Map Ph 123a) at So 13, Co 1-3/7, D 1-6/8-9.

5. RP [aʊ] in **snout** Dy 23.

6. RP [ɔə] in **door** MG 2.

[u]

2.77 [u] corresponds to RP [ʊ] in **foot** P 6/10, Dy 1.

2.78 [u] appears also (in the combination /U:WΛ/) where RP has [aʊə] in **flour** Dy 9; **hour** P 1, Dy 23; and where RP has [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **four** P

5.

[uə]

2.79 [uə] corresponds to RP [u:] in **goose** P 6/8-9/12; **root** P 6/8, Dy 8; **stool** P 2/4/6-7/9-11/13-14, Dy 4/8-9/15-17/21, Gw 1.

[u:]

2.80 [u:] corresponds to RP [əu] in **foal** WG 3, and to RP [au] in **snout** WG 3.

[uu]

2.81 [uu] corresponds to RP [u:] in the combination [ju:] in **dew** Cl 3, **ewe** Dy 13.

/Iu/

2.82 Not all -Anglo-Welsh dialects have /Iu/; those that do are Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 5-6/13-16/19/23-26, Dy 1/3/6/8-9/14-18/20-24, WG 1/4-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-9.

The only recorded realisation of /Iu/ is [iu]. It corresponds to the following sounds:

1. RP [u:] in **two** Gw 5.

SED records an isolated instance of [iu:] in **two** at Mon 3 (Raglan) that is some 5 miles north-east of Gw 5 (Usk).

2. RP [u:] in the combination [ju:] in **dew** Gn 1-2/4-5/7-10, Cl 1-2/4, P 5-6/13-16/19/23-26, Dy 9/15-18/21-24, WG 1/4-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-8; **ewe** Gn 1-2/4-9, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 23-24/26, Dy 3/6/14/17/20/22/24, WG 1, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 3/5/7-8; **suet** Gn 5/7/9, P 23-24/26, Dy 1/6/16/24, WG 1/5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 7/9; **Tuesday** Gn 1-2/4-5/7-9, Cl 1-2/4, P 23-24/26, Dy 6/8-9/15-17/21-24, WG 1/4-5, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 3/5/7.

In some instances, /Iu/ may be a sound-substitution of Welsh **iw** for RP [ju:]. But so far as **dew** is concerned, some instances may be

borrowings from adjacent areas of England. LAE (Map Ph 178) shows [diu:] widely in wSa He, So Co, although Map Ph 177 shows no such potential sources for the Anglo-Welsh /Iu/ in **ewe**. In **Tuesday** SED records [iu(?)] and closely-similar forms at Dh 2, Sa 4-6, Wo 1, Mon 4, Sr 5, K 3-4/7, Ha 7, Co 3/5-7.

/Ai/

2.83 The recorded realisations of /Ai/ are [ai], [æi], [əi] and [ɔi]. Note that [æi] occurs as a realisation of both /E:/ and /Ai/.

[ai]

2.84 [ai] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ai] in **eye** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-3/6-7, P 1-6/8-14/17-19/21-22/25, Dy 2/4-7/9-12/14/16/20-21/24-25, MG 2, Gw 2/4; **fight** Gn 1-4/8-10, Cl 1-4, P 1-14/17/21-22/25, Dy 1-12/14-15/20/22/24, WG 2/4, Gw 2/4; **flies n.pl.** Gn 1-9, Cl 1-6, P 1-14/17-20/22/25, Dy 1-8/10-12/14-16/20-22/25, WG 2, Gw 2/4; **hive** Gn 1-5/8-9, Cl 1-6, P 1-6/8-14/17-19/22/25, Dy 1-2/4-9/11-12/14-15/18/20-22, WG 5, Gw 2/4; **ivy** Gn 1-5/8-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-14/17-20/22/25, Dy 2-8/11-12/15-16/20-22/25, WG 2/5, Gw 2/4; **mice** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-6/8-14/17-19/21-22, Dy 2-8/10-15/17/20/22/25, WG 2/5, Gw 4; **white** Gn 1-5/8-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-14/17-19/22/25, Dy 2-5/7-8/10-17/19-21, WG 2, Gw 2/4.

2. RP [ɔi] in **boiling** P 7.

LAE (Map Ph 185a) records [ai] in **boiling** Ch 6, Sa 2-3/5-6/8/11.

3. RP [ei] in **clay** P 1/3/6, Dy 9; **tail** P 6; **drain** (in the combination /'AiYΛ/) Dy 17.

SED records [ai]-type diphthongs in **clay** V 4-5; **tail** Sa 10-11, Wo 2/4-5. The Anglo-Welsh forms may however represent spelling-pronunciation of **ai** in **tail** and substitution of Welsh **clai** /k lai/ for English **clay**.

4. RP [ʌ] in **onion** P 17.

EDG (Index) records *ainin* mid-Sa; *ainjθn* nWo; *ainθn* Gl

2.85 [ai] (in the combination /'AiYΛ/) appears where RP has [aɪ] in *fire* Gn 1-6/8-10, Cl 1-5/7, P 1-9/11-14/17-19/21-22/25, Dy 2/4/6-10/12-13/15-17/19-22, Gw 2/4; *iron* Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-7, P 1-14/17-19/22, Dy 1-6/8-16/20-21/23, WG 2, MG 2, Gw 4.

[æi]

2.86 [æi] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [aɪ] in *eye* Dy 19; *fight* Gn 5/7, Dy 19; *flies* *n.pl.* Dy 19; *hive* Gn 7, Dy 19; *ivy* Gn 7, Dy 19; *mice* Dy 19/24; *white* Gn 7.

SED recordings of this [æi] include *eye* He 1-2; So 5/7-9; *flies* He 2/7; So 5/8-9; *hive* He 1-2, Wo 6; So 7-9; *ivy* So 5/7-9; *mice* So 2-3/5/7-9; *white* So 5/7-9.

2. RP [eɪ] in *lay* *inf.* P 20; *tail* P 20.

LAE (Maps Ph 163/165a) records [æi] in both of these words from Herefordshire, though not the part adjoining P 20 (New Radnor).

2.87 [æi] appears also (in the combination /'AiYΛ/) in words that in RP have [aɪ], namely *fire* Gn 7, Dy 19 and *iron* Dy 19.

[ai]

2.88 [ai] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [aɪ] in *eye* P 15-16/20/23-24/26, Dy 1/3/8/15/17-18/22-23, WG 1, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9; *fight* Gn 6, Cl 7, P 15-16/19-20/23-24/26, Dy 16-18/21/23, WG 1/3/5-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9; *flies* *n.pl.* Gn 10, P 15-16/21/23-24/26, Dy 9/17-18/23, WG 1/5-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9; *hive* Gn 6/10, P 15-16/20/23-24/26, Dy 3/10/16-17/23, WG 1-2/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9; *ivy* Gn 6, P 15-16/21/23-24/26, Dy 1/9-10/17-18/23, WG 1/6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9; *mice* P

15-16/20/23-26, Dy 1/9/16/18/21/23, WG 1, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5-9; *white* Gn 6, P 15-16/20-21/23-24/26, Dy 1/6/9/18/23, WG 1/3/5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9.

LAE records [θi] in *eye* (Map Ph 114) from Mon, sHe, wWo, eGl; W, mid-Do; *flies* (Map Ph 115) He, Mon, wWo, Gl; *mice* (Map Ph 117) in a similar area; *white* (Map Ph 105) also in a similar area; so too in the case of *fight*, *hive* and *ivy* as recorded by SED

2. RP [eɪ] in *clay* Dy 16/23; *tail* P 26; *weigh* Dy 22-23.

These [θi] forms may be due to the influence of Welsh spelling-conventions; cf Parry-Williams §§ 53-55.

3. RP [ɔɪ] in *boiling* P 21, Dy 23; *oil* Dy 23; *voice* Cl 3, Dy 23.

4. RP [i:] in *wheel* Cl 3.

2.89 [ai] appears (in the combination /'AiYΛ/) in words that in RP have [aɪ], namely *fire* P 15-16/20/23-24/26, Dy 1/5/18, WG 1/3, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9; *iron* Gn 6, P 15-16/20-21/23-26, Dy 18/22, WG 1, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5-9.

[ɑi]

2.90 [ɑi] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [aɪ] in *eye* Cl 5, WG 4-6; *fight* Dy 25; *flies* *n.pl.* Dy 25, WG 3-4; *hive* Dy 25, WG 3-4; *ivy* Cl 5, Dy 14, WG 3-4; *mice* WG 3-4/6; *white* Dy 25, WG 4/6.

2. RP [eɪ] in *weigh* Dy 25.

2.91 [ɑi] appears also (in the combination /'AiYΛ/) in words that in RP have [aɪ], namely *fire* Cl 6, Dy 11/14/25, WG 4-6; *iron* Cl 5, Dy 7/25, WG 3-6.

/Au/

2.92 The recorded realisations of /Au/ are [au], [æu], [ɛu], [ɑu] and [ɔu].

[au]

2.93 [au] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [au] in **cow** Gn 1-2/4/7-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-2/4-7/9/11-13/17-19, Dy 1/3-6/8/11-12/14-17/19, WG 3-4/6, Gw 2/4/9; **plough** Gn 1-9, Cl 1-7, P 1-2/4-5/7/11-13/17-19, Dy 2/4-7/11-12/14/17/20-21/25, WG 2-6, Gw 4/9; **snout** Gn 1-9, Cl 1-4, P 1-2/4-5/7/11-13/17-19, Dy 2-6/9/12/14/16/19/23, WG 2/5-6, Gw 4; **sow n.** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-2/4-5/7/10-13/17-18/21-22/25, Dy 4-7/11-12/15/19-21/23, WG 2-3/5-6, Gw 4/9; **thousand** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-2/4, P 1/4-5/7/13-14/17/19-20, Dy 2/4/6-7/11-13/17/19-20/25, WG 2-6, Gw 2/4.

2. RP [əu] in **cold** P 20; **old** P 18/20; **colt** P 20; **snow** P 20, Dy 2; **shoulder** WG 5.

SED records [au] in **cold** Sa 6-10; **old** Sa 1/6-10; **colt** Sa 7-11; **snow** Sa 7; **shoulder** So 5/8, Co 2-4.

3. RP [u:] in the combination [ju:] in **ewe** P 15/20, WG 5.

SED records [au] and close variants thereof in **ewe** at Du 3/5, We 3-4, Y 1-4/6-8/10-11/16/ 21/25/28-29; Wo 2/4-5.

2.94 [au] appears also (in the combination /'AuWΛ/) in **four** /'VAuWΛ/) WG 5 that in RP has [ɔ:] or [ɔə]; and words that in RP have [auə], namely **flour** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4/7, P 1-2/4-5/7/11-13/17-20/25, Dy 2/4/6/8/11-15/17/19-21/24, WG 3-6, Gw 4; **hour** Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-5/7, P 2/5/7/13/17-19/25, Dy 1-2/4/6-7/9/11-12/18/20/25, WG 2-6, Gw 2/4/9.

[æu]

2.95 [æu] corresponds to RP [au] in **cow** WG 5; **plough** Dy 19; **snout** Cl 6, Dy 13; **sow n.** Dy 14; **thousand** Dy 14.

2.96 [æu] appears also (in the combination /'AuWΛ/) in **hour** Dy 19 that in RP has [auə].

[Eu]

2.97 [Eu] corresponds to RP [au] in **cow** Dy 20/24-25, **plough** Dy 13/24, **snout** Dy 20/25, **sow n.** Dy 13/24-25.

SED records [Eu] and variants thereof widely in these words in the Midlands and South.

2.98 [Eu] appears also (in the combination /'AuWΛ/) in words that in RP have [auə], namely **flour** Dy 25, **hour** Dy 24.

[au]

2.99 [au] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [au] in **cow** Gn 5-6, P 15-16/20-21/23-26, Dy 2/13/21-23, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-8; **plough** P 15-16/20-21/23-26, Dy 1/3/8-10/15-16/22-23, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5-8; **snout** P 15-16/20-26, Dy 15/21/24, WG 1, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5-9; **sow n.** P 15-16/20-21/23-24/26, Dy 2/10/16/22, WG 1, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5-8; **thousand** Gn 6, Cl 5, P 15-16/23-26, Dy 3/5/8/10/15-16/21-24, WG 1/3, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-9.

SED records [əu] and variants thereof as follows: **cow** Y 7-8/13; He 3-4/6, Mon 3-6, Gl 3, Ox 4; Nf 5; So 6, W 2-6, Brk 1-3, K 1/7, Do 1-2/4-5, Sx 6; **plough** Cu 6, Du 4-5, Y 5-6; He 3-4/6, Wo 4-5, Mon 3-6, Gl 1-4, Ox 4, Nf 11; So 3/6, W 2-5, Brk 1-2, K 1/7, Do 2-4-5, Ha 4; **snout** Y 8; He 3/6, Wo 4-5, Mon 3-6, Gl 1-4, Nf 5-6; W 1-3/5, Brk 1-2, K 2, Do 2/4-5; **sow n.** Du 3-4/6, We 4, La 9, Y 2/5-6; He 3-4/6, Wo 4-5, Mon 3-6, Gl 1-3, Ox 4; Nf 11; W 2-3/5, Brk 1-2, K 1/7, Do 2/4-5.

2. RP [u:] in **goose** Dy 24.

2.100 [əu] appears also (in the combination /'AuWΛ/) where RP has [auə], in **flour** Cl 5, P 15-16/20-21/23-24/26, Dy 1/16, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-3/5-9; **hour** Gn 6, P 20/24, Dy 3/13/15-16/21-23, WG 1, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3/5-8.

[ɔu]

2.101 [ɔu] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [au] in **cow** Gn 3/10, Cl 7, P 3/8-10/14/22, Dy 18; **plough** Gn 10, Cl 3, P 3/8-10/14/22, Dy 18; **snout** Gn 10, Cl 7, P 6/8-10/14/22, Dy 1/18; **sow** n. Cl 7, P 6/8-9/14, Dy 1/3/8; **thousand** Cl 3/6-7, P 2-3/6/8-12/14/21-22, Dy 18.

2. RP [ɒ] in **trough** P 7 (where the diphthong is word-final).

3. RP [u:] in the combination [ju:] in **ewe** P 8.

SED records [jəu] at Wa 2, Gl 6.

2.102 [ɔu] appears also (in the combination /'AuWΛ/) in words that in RP have [auə], namely **flour** Cl 3/6, P 3/6/8-9/22, Dy 3/7/18; **hour** Cl 6, P 3/6/8-12/14/22.

/Oi/

2.103 The recorded realisations of /Oi/ are [oi], [ɔi], [ɔiə], [ɔi] and [ui].

[oi]

2.104 [oi] corresponds to RP [ɔi] in **boiling** P 4/13, Dy 11-12/14/25, WG 3-4/6; **oil** P 1/4-5/11/13, Dy 2/7/11/20, WG 4/6; **voice** P 21, Dy 7/11-12/14/20/24-25, WG 4.

[ɔi]

2.105 [ɔi] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɔi] in **boiling** Gn 1-4/6-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-3/5-6/8-12/14-20/22-26, Dy 1-10/13/15-22/24, WG 1-2/5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **oil** Gn 1-2/4-10, Cl 1-6, P 2-3/6-10/12/15-17/19-26, Dy 1/3-6/8-10/12-19/21-22/25-26, WG 1-3/5, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **voice** Gn 1-4/6-10, Cl 1-7, P 2-6/8-18/20/22-26, Dy 2-6/8-10/13/15-19/21-22, WG 1-3/5-6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9.

2. RP [aɪ] in **fight** Cl 6.

[ɔiə]

2.106 [ɔiə] corresponds to RP [ɔi] in **oil** Gn 1-2.

[ɔi]

2.107 [ɔi] corresponds to RP [ɔi] in **oil** Gn 3; **voice** Dy 1, MG 2.

[ui]

2.108 [ui] corresponds to RP [ɔi] in **boiling** Gn 5.

/OΛ/

2.109 Not all of the Anglo-Welsh dialects investigated have /OΛ/. Those that do are Gn 6-7, Cl 2-3/6, P 1-22, Dy 5/7-10/13/15-18/21-22/24, WG 2-3/5-6, MG 2, Gw 1/4/7/9.

The recorded realisations of /OΛ/ are [oə], [oə^ɾ], [oɛ], [ouə], [ouə^ɾ] [ɔə], [ɔə^ɾ] and [ɔuə].

[oə]

2.110 [oə] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **boar** Gn 7, Cl 2-3, P 1/5/7-9/11-16/19/21, MG 2, Gw 7; **door** Cl 3, P 3/5/7/12-16/19/21, Dy 16/18, Gw 1/7; **four** Gn 5, Cl 3, P 1/9-10/13, Dy 9-10, Gw 7.

2. RP [əu] in **coal** P 1/16/19, Dy 9/21-22; **foal** P 14/16, Dy 8-10/22; **road** Dy 8; **shoulder** P 14; **spokes** P 10; **toad** P 14/16, Dy 9.

3. RP [au] in **snout** P 3.

[oə^ɾ]

2.111 [oə^ɾ] corresponds to RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **boar** Cl 3, P 20.

[oɛ]

2.112 [oɛ] corresponds to RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **boar** P 2/4; **door** P 2/4; **four** P 4.

[ouə]

2.113 [ouə] corresponds to RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **door** Gw 9; **four** WG 2.

[ouə^ɾ]

2.114 [ouə^ɾ] corresponds to RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **door** P 20.

[ɔə]

2.115 [ɔə] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **boar** Gn 6, P 12/18-19, Dy 7/10/15/17, MG 2, Gw 9; **door** P 8-11, Dy 10/16-17/20, WG 3/5-6, Gw 4; **four** P 3/6/11/19, Dy 8.

2. RP [ɒ] in **off** P 5/22, **wrong** P 4.

3. RP [ɔ:] in **forks** Gn 6, P 2/4-5/12-13/16; **walk** P 2-3/13; **straw** P 2/6/9/11-12/14, Dy 16.

[ɔə^ɾ]

2.116 [ɔə^ɾ] corresponds to RP [ɔ:] or [ɔə] in **boar** Cl 6, P 17, Dy 24; **door** Cl 6, P 18, Dy 13, Gw 4; **four** Cl 6, Dy 24; **forks** P 18.

[ɔuə]

2.117 [ɔuə] corresponds to RP [auə] in **hour** Dy 5.

/IΛ/

2.118 Not all of the AW dialects investigated have /IΛ/. Those that do are Gn 1/3-4/6/10, Cl 1-3/5-6, P 1-15/17-19/21-22/25, Dy 1-2/7-11/13/

15-24, WG 4-6, MG 2, Gw 1/5/7/9.

The recorded realisations of /IΛ/ are [iə], [iə^ɾ], [iΛ] and [iɛ].

[iə]

2.119 [iə] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [iə] in **hear** Gn 3/10, Cl 5, P 6/22, Dy 22-23, WG 6; **year** Gn 10, Cl 1/5, P 1/5-6/8-14/19/22, Dy 8-9/15-17/21-23, Gw 9; **ears** Gn 3-4/6/10, Cl 1-3/5, P 1/3/5-6/8-15/19/21-22/25, Dy 1-2/8/10/15-16/18/21/24, WG 4/6, Gw 7.

2. RP [i:] in **cheese** P 6; **weeds** P 7/11; **wheel** Gn 1, Dy 8/15/17, P 2-3/8-9/11-12/18, Dy 8/15/17, WG 6, MG 2, Gw 1; **geese** P 8; **grease** P 6/8; **pea** P 10, Dy 9; **sheaf** P 21; **yeast** P 6; **key** Gn 1.

3. RP [eɪ] in **gate** P 7

4. RP [aɪə] in **fire** Dy 23.

[iə^ɾ]

2.120 [iə^ɾ] corresponds to RP [iə] in **hear** Cl 6, WG 5; **year** Cl 6, P 17-18, Dy 7/11/19-20, WG 5; **ears** Cl 6, P 17-18, Dy 11/13/19, WG 5, Gw 5.

[iΛ]

2.121 [iΛ] corresponds to RP [iə] in **ears** Dy 2.

[iɛ]

2.122 [iɛ] corresponds to RP [iə] in **hear** P 4/7; **year** P 2; **ears** P 2/4, Dy 23; and to RP [i:] in **key** P 2.

B. The Vowels of Unstressed Syllables

2.123 In the following partial account of the vowels recorded in unstressed syllables in the Anglo-Welsh dialects, we shall ignore those cases in which the phones of Anglo-Welsh and of RP coincide in both their forms and their distribution-patterns.

2.124 The AW vowels recorded in unstressed syllables are the following:

UNIT	REALISATIONS	/I:/	[i:]
/I/	[ɪ]	/E:/	[e:] [ei] [ɛi]
/E/	[ɛ]	/ɛ:/	[œː]
/A/	[a] [æ]	/ɔ:/	[ɔ:]
/ʌ/	[ʌ] [ʌː] [ə] [əː] [œː]	/O:/	[o:] [ou] [ɔu]
	[œː]	/U:/	[u:]
/O/	[ɔ] [ɒ]	/Au/	[au]
/U/	[u] [ʊ]	/Oʌ/	[oə]

The distribution of the above is as described below.

/I/

2.125 /I/, realised invariably as [ɪ], corresponds to RP [ə] in **woman** Dy 24, **saw-dust** Cl 2; to conservative RP [ə] in **waistcoat** P 12, Gw 6; to RP [ə] varying with syllabic [n] in **second** WG 3; and to RP [ɪə] in **onions** /'ʌNIYINZ, 'ONYINS, 'ʌNYIN (sg.)/ Dy 8/10/16-17, Gw 5.

The combination /IR/ corresponds to RP [ə] in **sugar** Dy 23.

But /I/ has no corresponding RP vowel in **apples** /'ʌPILS/ P 13; **oil** P 5; **squirrel** /'SGWIRIL, 'SKWIRIL/ Gn 5, Cl 4, P 12, WG 6; **weasel** /'WI:SIL/ WG 2; **iron** Gn 5.

/E/

2.126 /E/, realised invariably as [ɛ], corresponds to RP [ɪ] in **quarry** Dy 7/16; **porridge** Gn 9, Dy 8/14-17/22-23; **suet** Gn 7/9, P 3-4/8/11/15/22, Dy 2/9-10/14-16/18/22, WG 2-4; **Tuesday** Gn 7/10; and to RP [ə] varying with syllabic [n] in **thousand** MG 1.

/E/ or /ER/ correspond to RP [ə] in **butcher** P 2/4/7, Dy 17; **butter** P 2/4/8, Dy 16/19; **farmer** P 4/7; **finger** P 19; **ladder** Cl 2, P 4/8-9, Dy 14-15; **shoulder** P 2/4; **sugar** P 4/7-8/12, Dy 10/22.

But /E(R)/ has no corresponding RP vowel in **saddle** /'SADEL/ P 7/11; **squirrel** /'SK(W)IREL/ Gn 3, P 1/8/23-24, Dy 4-5/7-12/15-18/22-23, WG 1/4, MG 3, SG 1/3; **weasel** /'WI:ZEL/ P 3, Dy 7; **fire** /'FAiYE/ P 1/3-4/7/11-12; **flour** /'FLAuWE(R)/ P 4-5/7-9/12; **hour** /'AuWE(R)/ P 2/7-8/13-14; **iron** /'AiYEN/ P 4; **year** Dy 10.

/A/

2.127 The recorded realisations of /A/ in unstressed syllables are [a] and [æ].

[a]

2.128 [a] corresponds to RP [ə] in **butter** Gn 2; **shoulder** P 12; **sugar** Gn 8, Dy 4/17; **woman** Gn 1, P 19, Dy 10-11, MG 1; to RP [ə] varying with syllabic [n] in **second** Gn 7; **thousand** Dy 10; and to RP [ɪ] in **porridge** /'PORACH/ Dy 19; cf. ME *porach*.

But [a] has no corresponding RP vowel in **fire** /'FA:YA/ WG 2.

[æ]

2.129 [æ] corresponds to RP [ɪ] in **rabbits** Dy 13; and to RP [ə] in **shoulder** WG 3.

/ʌ/

2.130 The recorded realisations of /ʌ/ in unstressed syllables are [ʌ], [ʌ^ɾ], [ə], [ə^ɾ], [œ] and [œ^ɾ].

[ʌ]

2.131 [ʌ] corresponds to the following:

1. RP [ə] in **butcher** Gn 1-2/5/9, Cl 4, P 21/25, WG 1, MG 1; **butter** Gn 1/7-8/10, Cl 1-2/4, P 17/21/25, Dy 4/8, WG 2/5, MG 1-2, Gw 2; **farmer** Gn 1/7-8/10, P 21, Dy 2-3, MG 1-2, Gw 2; **finger** Gn 1/5/8-10, Cl 4/7, P 7, Dy 2, MG 1-2; **ladder** Gn 1-2/4/7-9, Cl 1/4, P 25, Dy 3, WG 1, MG 1-2; **potatoes** P 11/17, Dy 3/21, MG 1-2, Gw 9; **shoulder** Gn 2/4-5/7, Cl 2/4, P 25, Dy 2, MG 1-2, Gw 2; **slaughter** Gn 8, Cl 1, MG 1-2; **sugar** Gn 1-2/4, Cl 1, P 25, WG 2, MG 1, Gw 2; **woman** Gn 10, P 20, Dy 3, WG 2, MG 1-2; also conservative RP [ə] in **waistcoat** P 6/13/16/20.

2. RP [ə] varying with syllabic /n/ in **bacon** Gn 10, WG 2; **second** Gn 1-2/8/10, Cl 1/5, P 2/20/25, Dy 3-4, WG 1-2/4/6, MG 1-2, Gw 1-2; **thousand** Gn 1/10, P 10/17/19, Dy 2-3/5, WG 2, MG 2, Gw 1.

3. The combination /U:Wʌ/ corresponds to RP [uɪ] in **suet** MG 2.

4. RP [əu] in **furrow** Gw 3.

5. RP [ɪ] in **with** P 20.

2.132 But [ʌ] has no corresponding RP vowel in **fire** /'FAiYʌ(R)/ Gn 1/8, Cl 5, MG 1-2, Gw 3/7-8; **flour** /'FLAuWʌ(R)/ Gn 4-5/7, WG 1, MG 1-2; **hear** /'(H)I:Yʌ/ Gn 8, Cl 1; **hour** /'AuWʌ/ Gn 7, P 24, MG 1-2; **iron** /'AiRʌN, 'AiYʌ(R)N/ Gn 1/6/10, P 25, WG 2, MG 1-2, Gw 1/3/7-8; **onions** /'ONJʌNZ, 'UNJʌNS, 'ʌN(I)YʌNZ/ Gn 1-2/4-6/8/10, Cl 5, P 6/8/19-21/25, Dy 4/7, WG 1-2/3/5, MG 2, SG 1, Gw 1-4/6-8; **squirrel** /'SGWIRʌL, 'SKWIRʌL/ Gn 6/10, Cl 2, WG 5, MG 1-2, Gw 1/3/7; **weasel** /'WI:ZʌL/ MG 2.

[ʌ^ɾ]

2.133 [ʌ^ɾ] corresponds to RP [ə] in **finger** WG 5; **ladder** WG 5-6.

[ə]

2.134 [ə] corresponds to the following:

1. Conservative RP [ə] in **waistcoat** Gn 8, P 7-8, Dy 25, WG 5, Gw 8.

2. RP [ɪ] in **morning** P 15; **nothing** Dy 20; **rabbits** P 7, Dy 7/12/22/24, Gw 7; **shilling** Dy 21; **suet** Gn 8, Cl 4, P 7/23-24, Dy 1/17/25, WG 6, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 2/7/9; **Tuesday** Dy 20.

3. RP [əu] in **furrow** Cl 3, P 1/7/9, Dy 11/16, WG 5, Gw 2/4/8; **potatoes** Gn 1/4/10, Cl 3-4, P 1-3/5-9/13/15/22/26, Dy 2/17, SG 2-3, Gw 1/3/9; **yellow** Cl 3, P 7, Gw 1.

4. RP [ʌ] in **saw-dust** SG 2-4.

2.135 But [ə] has no corresponding RP vowel in **apples** /'APʌLZ, 'APʌLS/ P 1-2/4-7/9/12, Dy 8/17, Gw 9; **kettle** /'KITʌL, 'KETʌL/ P 1-2/4-5/7/11/13; **saddle** /'SADʌL, 'SʌDʌL/ P 1-2/4-5/7/11-13; **squirrel** /'SGWIRʌL, 'SK(W)IRʌL/ Gn 1-2/4/7-9, Cl 1, P 2-6/9-11/13-15/19/21-22/25-26, Dy 1-3/6/14/20-21/24-25, WG 2-3, SG 2/4, Gw 2/5-6/8-9; **thimble** /'ThIMBʌL/ Gn 4, P 1-2/5/7-9/11-13, Dy 10/15-17/24, Gw 1; **uncle** /'ʌNKʌL, 'ʌŋKʌL/ Gn 4, P 1-2/4-5/7/9/11-13, Dy 2; **weasel** /'(H)WI:SʌL, '(H)WI:ZʌL/ Gn 9, P 1-2/4-6/8-13/19/22, Dy 1/8/10/12/14-15/17/20-21/23/25, WG 3-5; **chair** /'ChE:YʌR/ Dy 21; **ears** /'I:YʌRS/ Cl 7; **fire** /'FAiYʌ(R)/ Gn 2-7/9-10, Cl 1-6, P 2/6/8-9/13-16/19/21-26, Dy 1-2/4-12/14-22/25, WG 1/3-4, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 2/5/9; **flour** /'FLAuWʌ(R), 'FLO:Wʌ(R)/ Gn 1-3/6/8-10, Cl 1-6, P 1-3/5-6/11/13/15-16/19/21-26, WG 2-4, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-9; **four** /'FU:Wʌ/ P 5; **hare** /'HE:Yʌ/ Dy 21; **hear** /'(H)I:Yʌ(R)/ Gn 2-3/5-7/9-10, Cl 2/5/7, P 1-3/5-6/8-14/19, Dy 1-2/7-8/10-11/13/15-17/21, WG 6; **hour** /'AuWʌ(R), 'U:Wʌ/ Gn 1-6/8-10, Cl 1-7, P 1/3/5-6/9-12/15-16/19/21-23/

26. Dy 1-4/6-9/11-12/15-18/21-23/25, WG 1/3-4, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-9; **iron** /'E:RAN, 'AiRAN, 'AiYΛ(R)N/ Gn 2-4/7-9, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 1-3/5-16/19/21-24/26, Dy 1-2/4-12/14-16/18/20-21/23-25, WG 1/3-6, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 2/4-5; **mare** /'ME:YΛ/ WG 5; **onions** /'AN(I:)YANZ, 'ANYANS, 'ONYANS, 'UNYANZ, 'ONI:YAN sg./ Gn 3/7, Cl 1-4/6, P 1-2/4-5/7/9/11-14/18-19/23-24/26, Dy 1/3/6/11-14/18/20-23/25, WG 4/6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4; **pears** /'PE:YΛZ/ WG 6.

[ə^ɪ]

2.136 [ə^ɪ] corresponds to RP [ə] in **butcher** P 16-18/20, Dy 13/19/24-25, WG 5-6, Gw 1/4/6/9; **butter** P 16-18/20, Dy 13/24, WG 6, SG 4, Gw 1/4/6; **farmer** P 15-18/20, Dy 13-14/18-20/24-25, WG 5-6, SG 4, Gw 1/3-4/6; **finger** P 15/17-18/20, Dy 12-13/19-20/24, WG 6, Gw 1/4-6; **ladder** Cl 6, P 16-20, Dy 13/18-19/24-25, Gw 1/4/6; **shoulder** Cl 6, P 15/17-18/20, Dy 13/19/24-25, WG 5, Gw 1/4-6; **slaughter** P 17/20/25, Dy 24, Gw 1/4/6; **sugar** P 17-18/20, Dy 13/19-20, WG 5-6, MG 2, Gw 1/4/6; and to RP [əu] in **yellow** Gw 4.

But [ə^ɪ] has no corresponding RP vowel in **fire** /'FAiYΛ/ P 5/17-18/20, Dy 13/19/24, WG 5-6, Gw 1/4/6; **flour** /'FLAuWΛ/ P 17-18/20, Dy 14/24, WG 5-6, Gw 1/4/6; **four** /'VAuWΛ/ WG 5; **hear** /'(H)I:YΛ/ Cl 6, P 15/17-18, Dy 19/24, WG 5, Gw 5/9; **hour** /'AuWΛ, 'O:WΛ/ P 17-18/20/25, Dy 10/13/19-20/25, WG 6, Gw 1/4/6; **iron** /'AiYΛN/ P 18, Dy 13/19, Gw 6.

[œ]

2.137 [œ] corresponds to RP [ə] in **finger** P 24, SG 1; **ladder** Gw 9; **slaughter** WG 2, Gw 9; **hear** Dy 3/9/12, WG 3.

[œ^ɪ]

2.138 [œ^ɪ] corresponds to RP [ə] in **farmer** Gw 9; **finger** WG 2.

But [œ^ɪ] has no corresponding RP

vowel in **iron** /'AiYΛN/ P 20, Gw 9.

/O/

2.139 The recorded realisations of /O/ in unstressed syllables are [ɔ] and [ɒ].

[ɔ]

2.140 [ɔ] corresponds to RP [ə] in **potatoes** Dy 10-11/14, WG 4-5; to conservative RP [ə] in **waistcoat** Gn 1/7/9, Cl 1, Dy 2/7; to RP [ə] varying with syllabic [n] in **bacon** P 1/11, Dy 17/23-25; **second** Dy 5/11/14/17; and to RP [əu] in **furrow** Gn 7, Cl 7, P 6; **yellow** Gn 7/10, WG 1.

But [ɔ] has no corresponding RP vowel in **onions** /'ONI:YONZ/ Gn 9, P 19, Dy 9/15.

[ɒ]

2.141 [ɒ] corresponds to RP [ə] in **potatoes** Gn 10.

But it has no corresponding RP vowel in **iron** /'AiYON/ Dy 3.

/U/

2.142 The recorded realisations of /U/ in unstressed syllables are [u] and [ʊ].

[u]

2.143 [u] corresponds to RP [ə] in **potatoes** P 18/25, Dy 5/19; **saw-dust** Cl 3/7; **sugar** Dy 3; to RP [əu] in **potatoes** Gn 5, SG 4; to RP [ɪ] in **suet** Cl 2; and to RP [ɪ] in **with** /UD/ P 18/20.

But [u] has no corresponding RP vowel in **onions** /'ONI:YUNS, 'UNYUN (sg.)/ P 3, Dy 5; **thimble** /'ThIMBUL/ P 4; **twelve** /TU'WELV/ Gn 3, WG 1.

[ʊ]

2.144 [ʊ] corresponds to RP [ʌ] in **saw-dust** Gn 4.

/ɪ:/

2.145 /ɪ:/, realised invariably as [i:], often of Cardinal quality, corresponds to RP [ɪ] in **buried** Gn 3-9, Cl 1/4-7, P 2/15/21, Dy 2/4-6/9-10/15/21-22, Gw 1-2/4/6/8, **holly** Gn 1-6/8-10, Cl 1-7, P 1/4-6/8/10-12/14/17-18/20-26, Dy 1-6/8-18/20-23/25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-2/4, Gw 1-9; **ivy** Gn 1-10, Cl 1-6, P 2-4/7-8/10-11/14-15/17-26, Dy 1-17/20-22/25, WG 1-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **quarry** Gn 1/3-6/10, Cl 1-2/4-6, P 2-4/8/14/17-26, Dy 1-6/8-15/17-18/20-23/25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-9; **Tuesday** P 18/20/25, Dy 13, WG 6, MG 3, SG 1-2/4, Gw 1/4/6/8.

/E:/

2.146 The recorded realisations of /E:/ in unstressed syllables are [e:], [ei] and [ɛi].

[e:]

2.147 [e:] corresponds to RP [ɪ] in **holly** Dy 24; **Tuesday** Gn 3-6/9, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 15/17/19, Dy 1-2/4, WG 2, MG 2, Gw 2.

[ei]

2.148 [ei] corresponds to RP [ɪ] in **quarry** Gn 9; **Tuesday** Gn 2/8, Cl 3, P 6/14/16-17/23-24/26, Dy 3/5-12/14-18/21-23/25.

[ɛi]

2.149 [ɛi] corresponds to RP [ɪ] in **Tuesday** P 2/4-5/7/21.

/œ:/

2.150 The only recorded realisation of /œ:/ in unstressed syllables is [œ^ɾ:], which appears in **onions** /'AiNYœ:NZ/ P 17.

/ɔ:/

2.151 /ɔ:/, in unstressed syllables realised invariably as [ɔ:], corresponds

to RP [aʊ] in **potatoes** WG 5, **waistcoat** Dy 25.

/O:/

2.152 The recorded realisations of /O:/ in unstressed syllables are [o:], [ou], [ɔu] and [əu].

[o:]

2.153 [o:] corresponds to RP [əʊ] in **furrow** Gn 1-6/8-10, Cl 1-2/4-5, P 2-4/8-16/19/21-26, Dy 2-5/8/10/17-18/21, WG 1, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2/7-8; **potatoes** Gn 2-3/6/8-9, Cl 2/5-6, P 4/11-12/14/18-19/21/23-24, Dy 1/3/5-6/8-10/15-16/18/21-22, WG 1-2, MG 1-3, SG 1, Gw 2/7; **yellow** Gn 1-6/9, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 1-6/8-14/16/21-26, Dy 2-6/8-10/15-18/21-22, WG 2, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7/9; **waistcoat** Gn 2/4-5/8/10, Cl 2-3/5, P 1-2/5/9-12/14/18-19/23-24/26, Dy 1/3-6/10/15/17/22, WG 1-2, Gw 2/9; and to RP [ə] in **potatoes** Gn 1, P 21.

[ou]

2.154 [ou] corresponds to RP [əʊ] in **furrow** P 17-19, Dy 6-7/9/12/14-15/19-20/22/25, WG 2-4/6, Gw 1/4-6/8-9; **potatoes** Gn 2-3/6/8-9, Cl 2/5-6, P 4/11-12/14/17/25, Dy 7/11-12/14/19/25, WG 3-4, Gw 4/6; **yellow** Cl 3/6, P 15/17-20, Dy 1/12/14/19-20/23/25, WG 4-5, Gw 6/8; **waistcoat** Gn 3, P 22, Gw 4.

[ɔu]

2.155 [ɔu] corresponds to RP [əʊ] in **furrow** Cl 6, Dy 24; **potatoes** Dy 4/24; **waistcoat** Dy 13; **yellow** Cl 3, Dy 5/7/11/13/24, WG 3/6.

/U:/

2.156 /U:/, in unstressed syllables realised invariably as [u(:)], generally of Cardinal or near-Cardinal quality, corresponds to RP [əʊ] in **furrow** Cl 3, P 5/20. It appears initially in **weeds**, **white** at Gw 2.

2.157 The combination /U:R/ corresponds to RP [ə] in **butcher** Dy 23; cf. the **-wr** suffix in Welsh **fermwr** 'farmer'.

/Au/

2.158 The only recorded realisation of /Au/ in unstressed syllables is [au],

which corresponds to RP [əu] in **yellow** Gn 8.

/OΛ/

2.159 The only recorded realisation of /OΛ/ in unstressed syllables is [oə], which corresponds to RP [əu] in **waistcoat** P 3/15.

C. The Consonants

2.160 The following partial discussion of the consonants deals only with cases in which the recorded Anglo-Welsh forms of the 144 Selected Words differ in either distribution or phonetic realisation from their counterparts in RP. A full list of the Anglo-Welsh consonant units and their respective realisations appears in §2.6 above.

/P/, /B/

2.161 /P/ is realised as long [p:] in **apples** Gn 6, Cl 5-7, P 21, Dy 16, WG 1-2, MG 2, SG 1.

In Welsh, /p/ is always lengthened (or doubled) when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones §78). However, syllabic /l/ in fact follows the /P/ in several of the occurrences here cited.

/P/ is lacking in **wasps** Dy 18.

/P/ normally has strong aspiration in initial stressed position and often finally before pause.

2.162 /B/ appears initially in **potatoes** Gn 6, WG 3.

2.163 /B/ is realised as long [b:] in **rabbits** Gn 6/10, Cl 5, P 24, Dy 3, WG 2, MG 2.

/T/, /D/

2.164 /T/ appears initially in **'tatoes** 'potatoes' Gn 2/7, Cl 1/3, P 20, Dy 15, WG 2, Gw 3.

Final /T/ appears in **cold** P 1/7; **second** Dy 13/24, MG 3, SG 2; **chaff**

Cl 1; **spade** Gn 5.

Parry-Williams (p. 242) cites examples of English loan-words in Welsh in which **-ld** > **-lt**, and **-nd** > **-nt**, such as **golt** 'gold', **molt** 'mould', **diamwnt** 'diamond', **Rhismwnt** 'Richmond'. Final [t] in **second** is also reported widely throughout England by *SED*.

2.165 /T/ is lacking medially in **rabbits** P 1/6-7/11/13, and finally in **draught** Gn 7, Cl 6, Gw 1; **first** P 7/10/13, WG 6; **saw-dust** Cl 5; **yeast** P 1/10/12.

2.166 /T/ has dental realisations in many of the Anglo-Welsh dialects (Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 3/5-6/8/10/21, Dy 1-2/4-5/18). Details of their distribution are given in Part Two, section (iii): "The Sound-Systems of Each of the Investigated Anglo-Welsh Dialects".

This dental [t], like dental [d] and dental [n] in Gwynedd and Clwyd (see §§ 2.170/180) is presumably a factor of a sound-substitution of the widespread dental [t, d, n] of northern Welsh for the alveolar counterparts of these consonants found in RP.

2.167 /T/ is realised by long [t:] in **butter** Gn 6, Cl 7, P 15/24, Dy 5/16/23, SG 1; **kettle** Cl 5, Dy 3.

In Welsh, /t/ is lengthened, or doubled,

when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones, §78). However, in both examples of **kettle** cited here, the /t/ is in fact followed by syllabic /l/.

/t/ normally has strong aspiration in initial stressed position, and often finally before pause.

2.168 /D/ appears initially in **jump** Gw 7, finally in **foal** /FO:LD/ Dy 7; **waistcoat** /'GWESKAD/ P 6 (cf. Welsh *gwasgod*).

2.169 Medial /D/ is lacking in **Tuesday** P 9, and final /D/ is lacking in cold P 6/13, Dy 10; **second** Gn 7, Cl 5, P 1-3/6-8/10/13/20-23, Dy 8/16/20-21.

2.170 /D/ has dental realisations in many of the AW dialects (Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 1/3/7/9/14/19-21/25, Dy 1/3-6/10/15/18, WG 5). Details of their distribution are given in Part Two, section (iii): "The Sound-Systems of Each of the Investigated Anglo-Welsh Dialects" below. See also § 2.166.

2.171 /D/ is realised by long [d:] in **ladder** Gn 10, Cl 5, P 24, WG 2, MG 2; **saddle** Gn 6/10, P 26.

/K/, /G/

2.172 /K/ is realised by long [k:] in **second** Gn 6/10, Cl 5, P 26, Dy 2.

In Welsh, /k/ is lengthened or doubled when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones §78).

/K/ normally has strong aspiration in initial stressed position, and often finally before pause.

2.173 /G/ appears medially in **spokes** Dy 11/16, and is lacking medially in **finger** P 1-2/5-6/12-13.

SED records forms of **finger** lacking medial [g] from Nb 1-9, Cu 1-6, Dy 1-6, We 1-4, La 1-9, Y 1-25/27-28/33; Ch 1/4, Db 4, Sa 4, Wo 7, Wa 2; So 5, W 7, Sx 3.

2.174 /G/ is realised as long [g:] in **sugar** Gn 6, Dy 8, SG 1.

/Ch/, /J/

2.175 /Ch/, realised as [tʃ], appears initially in **Tuesday** Gn 2/5/8, Cl 1, P 18; and finally in **porridge** Dy 19.

In **porridge** Gn 10 the /Ch/ may result from confusion between [tʃ] and [dʒ], neither of which sounds is native to Welsh; in Dy 19 the recorded form may partially represent early Modern English **poddech** or **poddiich**.

2.176 /Ch/ is realised as [tʃ:] in **butcher** Dy 5, and as [tʃ:] in **butcher** Gn 6/10.

2.177 /J/, realised as [dʒ], appears medially in **butcher** Dy 24.

/M/

2.178 /M/ is realised as long [m:] in **thimble** Gn 6, WG 2; **woman** Gn 6, Cl 5, P 21, Dy 4-5, WG 2.

In Welsh, /m/ is lengthened or doubled when following a stressed vowel and not followed by another consonant (Stephen Jones §78). However, the /M/ is in fact followed by /B/ in the examples of **thimble** that are cited here.

/N/

2.179 /N/ appears medially in the combination /-NG-/ in **finger** Gn 2-4/6, Cl 3/6, P 3-4/8-11/14/22; and in the combination /-NK-/ in **uncle** P 2-3/6/8-14/22, Dy 8/23, WG 5.

/N/ appears finally in **boiling** Gn 4-10, Cl 2-3/5, P 2-3/6-11/15/17/19-22/25-26, Dy 13/16-17/19-23, WG 1-6, MG 2-3, SG 1-2, Gw 1-2/4/6/8-9; **farthing** Gn 4, P 1-5/7-10/12-16/18-19/22-23/26, Dy 4/12/16-17/19/21-25, WG 1-6, MG 2-3, SG 1-3, Gw 1-4/6-8; **morning** Gn 4/10, P 1-5/7-10/12-23/26, Dy 3/11/13/15-17/19-21/23-24, WG 1-6, MG 3, SG 1-2, Gw 1-2/4-9; **nothing** Gn 3-4/6/10, Cl 5, P

2-3/7/9-10/12-13/15-17/19-22/26, Dy 3/12-14/16/19-24, WG 1-6, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-2/4/6-9; **shilling** Gn 3-4/6/9-10, Cl 2-5, P 1-5/7-10/12-16/18-20/22-26, Dy 9/11-12/16/19/21-24, WG 1-6, MG 3, SG 1-2/4, Gw 1-2/4/6-9.

/N/ is lacking in **second** P 12.

2.180 /N/ has dental realisations in several of the Anglo-Welsh dialects (Gn 1-5/7-10, Cl 1-2/4-5). Details of their distribution are given in Part Two section (iii): "The Sound-Systems of Each of the Investigated Anglo-Welsh Dialects." See also § 2.166.

The first /N/ in **onion(s)** is realised by long alveolar [n:] Gn 6, WG 2.

/Ng/

2.181 /Ng/ is realised by long [ŋ:] in **finger** MG 2; **uncle** Gn 6/10, Cl 5, WG 2, MG 2. Final /Ng/ appears in **bacon** P 15, Dy 11, Gw 3/5.

/L/

2.182 /L/ is lacking medially in **colt** P 20, **old** P 9 and **shoulder** P 6/12, Dy 16.

England has large areas in which /l/ is lacking in these words: cf. *LAE* Maps Ph 41b (**colt**), Ph 33c (**old**) and Ph 55b (**shoulder**).

2.183 In some of the Anglo-Welsh dialects (Gn 3, P 1-5/7/10-11/13/21-24, Dy 2-3/5/8-10/17/21-23, WG 1-2, MG 1) /L/ is realised by clear [l] in all positions of the word. In other dialects (P 26, SG 1-4, Gw 3), clear and dark /l/ appear to be distributed as in RP. In all the other dialects, both clear and dark /l/ appear but are not always distributed as in RP. The details of the realisations of /L/ are given in Part Two, section (iii): "The Sound-Systems of Each of the Investigated Anglo-Welsh Dialects".

2.184 In Welsh, 'I has a resonance somewhere between the dark variety...and the clear variety' (Stephen

Jones §20).

2.185 /L/ is realised by long clear [l:] in **colt** Cl 5; **holly** Gn 10, P 19/24, Dy 1, WG 1, MG 2, SG 1; **shilling** Dy 4, WG 2; **shoulder** Dy 3, MG 2; **yellow** Gn 6, WG 2, SG 1; **bull** Gn 10, Cl 5.

/F/, /V/

2.186 /F/, realised as [f], appears finally in **twelve** P 13, Dy 7.

/F/ is lacking medially in **draught** Dy 12; finally in **sheaf** P 5, **trough** P 7/15/17-25, Dy 10/14/19/21/23, WG 4-6, MG 3, SG 1-4, Gw 1/3-4/6/8.

SED records **trough** lacking [f] at Nb 1-5/7/9, Du 1-5; He 2-7, Wa 6, Mon 1-6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1/5-6; R 1-2, Nf 1/3-9/11-13, Bk 1/5-6, Ess 7/12, MxL 1; So 1-3/5-13, W 1-9, Brk 3-5, Sr 1-5, K 2/6-7, Co 2, D 1-9, Do 1-5, Ha 1-3/5-7, Sx 1-6.

2.187 /V/, realised as [v], appears initially in **first** Dy 14, **four** WG 5, **furrow** P 19-20/22-23/26, Dy 19-21/24, WG 6, Gw 3-4; and finally in **calf** Cl 5-7, P 5-6/8-9/11-13/15-18/20/22-23/26, MG 1-2, Gw 3/5, **off** P 1, **sheaf** Gn 2, P 1/6-7/9/19, Dy 1/6/22, WG 1, Gw 9; **trough** P 19.

SED records initial [v] in **first** He 6, Wa 2, Gl 3-4/6-7; So 2-13, W 1-2/4-6/8-9, Co 1-5, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1/3/5-6; **four** He 6, Gl 3-4/6-7; So 2-13, W 1-9, Co 1-3/5, D 1-11, Do 1-5, Ha 1/3/5-6, Sx 6.

2.188 /V/ is realised as long [v:] in **ivy** SG 3.

/Th/, /Ð/

2.189 /Th/, realised as [θ], appears medially in **farthing** P 2-3, Dy 8/10/12-15/22-23/25, WG 5-6; and finally in **with** P 2/9-10, Dy 15/25, WG 3.

EDG (Index) records **with** with final [θ] from n. Ayr., Kirkcudbright, Ulster, sNb, nCu, Isle of Man; seK.

2.190 /Th/ is realised as long [θ:] in

nothing Gn 3/6/10, Cl 5, P 21, WG 1.

2.191 /D/, realised as [ð], appears initially in **third** P 10; medially in **furrow** /'FADO:/ P 18 and **nothing** WG 2. It is lacking in **with** /WI/ P 26, Dy 24.

The West Midland volume of *SED* records [ð] in **third** at He 6, Gl 3-4/6-7.

/Ll/

2.192 /Ll/, realised as an alveolar lateral fricative, is of limited occurrence, being found mainly in Welsh loanwords into Anglo-Welsh such as **cawellt** 'wicker basket' (a re-borrowing of OE *cawell*) and place-names such as **Llanelli**.

/S/, /Z/

2.193 /S/ appears initially in **sugar** Gn 2, P 17, Dy 2/19, MG 2, Gw 1. At P 17 and Dy 2 this /S/ is followed by /Y/.

Some of the forms with /S/ followed immediately by a vowel may arise from there being, traditionally, no [ʃ] in Welsh (cf. Morris Jones §17, although he does say that s before consonantal i (= [j]) as in *eisiau*, 'now' [i.e. 1913] tends to become [ʃ]. Parry-Williams (p. 206) cites *suwgr*, *sywgr*, *siwgr* as forms of **sugar** borrowed into Welsh.

/S/ appears medially in **thousand** Gn 1/6-7/9, P 1/4/6/8/14, Dy 3/5/10/16-17/21/23, WG 2/6; **Tuesday** Gn 1/4/6/9, P 1/6/8/10/12, Dy 1/3/7/17/22/25, WG 2/4-5; **weasel** Gn 1/3-4/6/10, P 6/12/17, Dy 2/22, WG 2.

Many of these forms are probably due to there being no [z] in Welsh, although *SED* does record [s] in **thousand** Man 1-2, Ess 2; **weasel** Man 1, K 6.

/S/ appears finally in **cheese** Gn 1-2/5/7-8/10, P 1/11, WG 2; **wash** P 1.

/S/ in **cheese** is probably due in most cases to there being no [z] in Welsh, although *SED* records [s] from Nb 2/7, Man 2; Ess 3. In **wash** the /S/ at P 1 is probably due to [ʃ]

being a comparatively new sound in Welsh.

/S/ as a plural morpheme suffixed to noun-stems is treated in Part Three below (§ 3.2).

2.194 /S/ is realised by long [s:] in **Tuesday** Gn 6; **waistcoat** Gn 3, **weasel** WG 2; **wasps** [wɔs:] Dy 18.

2.195 /Z/, realised as [z], appears finally in **geese** Gn 8, **goose** Gn 8, and **grease** P 7.

/Sh/, /Zh/

2.196 /Sh/, realised as [ʃ], appears initially in **chaff** Dy 24, Gw 9; **cheese** Dy 9; **jump** P 9; **slaughter-house** Cl 1; **snow** Dy 3; **suet** Gn 8-9; medially in **butcher** P 1/14, and finally in **bitch** P 1, **grass** Cl 4.

2.197 /Sh/ is realised by long [ʃ:] in **mushrooms** Gn 6, Dy 4, but not, apparently, in any of the 144 Selected Words.

2.198 /Zh/, realised as [ʒ], appears finally in **bridge** P 13 and **porridge** P 1/8-9, Dy 9.

/X/

2.199 /X/, realised as [x], is of limited occurrence, appearing initially in **whip** /XWIP/ Gn 8; medially in the Welsh loanword **crochon** /'KROXON/ 'bread-basket' Gn 4/9; and finally in **trough** /TROX/ WG 4, and in some place-names, e.g. **Drefach** /DRE:'VA:X/.

/W/

2.200 /W/, realised as [w], appears initially in **oak** /WO:K/ P 19, Dy 23; **hoof** /WUF/ P 22, Dy 8.

SED records initial [w] in **oak** from Gl 7, So 3-4/11/13, W 1/8-9, Brk 4, Sr 2, D 10, Do 1-5, Ha 6.

2.201 /W/ is lacking initially in **wasps** P 12; **woman** Gn 7, Cl 7, P

6/14/16/19-20, Dy 2/22-23, MG 2, SG 1-2, Gw 3/6; **wool** Gn 5/8-10, Cl 7, P 6-7/19-20/24, Dy 5/7/22-23, MG 1; with /ʊd, ʌd/ P 18/20.

Weeds and **white** have initial /u:/ at Gw 2.

In Welsh, initial [w] is unfamiliar in radical (non-mutated) forms of nouns. However, *SED* records forms lacking initial [w] in **woman** Nb 1, Y 4, Sa 2/5/7-8/11, He 1-2/4-6, Wo 2-7, Wa 2/5/7, Mon 1-3/6, Gl 1-7, Ox 1-5, Bk 1-3, Bd 1, So 1-13, W 4-6/8-9, Brk 2/4, Sr 5, D 5/7, Do 2-5, Ha 2-3/5-6, Sx 3-4, and widely also in **wool**; **with** lacking initial [w] is recorded from Wa 1.

Medial /w/ is lacking in **squirrel** Gn 2, Dy 11.

2.202 Initial /hw/ appears in **weasel** Gn 1, Dy 1, P 8-9/11-12; **weeds** P 2/8/13; **wheel** Gn 1/9, P 6/14/18, Dy 1-6/9/13/17-18/23; **whip** Gn 2, Cl 5, P 1-2/6-8/12-14/16/19-21, Dy 3-4/6/9/15/17-18/20/23; **white** Gn 2/4/8, P 6-8/10/13/19/26, Dy 2-5/11/15/17-18/22-23, MG 3; **with** P 5.

Initial /hu:/ occurs in **white** MG 1.

SED records [hw] in words with orthographic **wh** from northern England

/R/

2.203 Owing probably to the influence of Welsh orthographic conventions whereby *r* = /r/ in all positions of the word, /R/ occurs before consonants and in word-final position in the dialects of Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-7, P 1-4/6-9/11-12/14/19/21-22/24, Dy 1-18/21-24, WG 1-2/4-5, MG 1-2, SG 1-3, Gw 3. The details of the distribution of /R/ are given in Part Two, section (iii): "The Sound-Systems of Each of the Investigated Anglo-Welsh Dialects".

/R/ appears also in **calf** /KARF/ Dy 1; **saw-dust** /'SORDAST/ Gn 6, Cl 6, /'Sɔ:RDAST/ P 8; **walk** /Wɔ:RK/ P 6; **straw** /STRɔ:R/ Dy 10.

2.204 /R/ commonly has rolled or

flapped realisations in the dialects of Gn 1-10, Cl 1-2/4-5/7, P 1-10/12/14-19/21-24/26, Dy 1-19/21-25, WG 1-4/6, MG 1, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7. Distinctions between alveolar rolled and alveolar flapped articulations of /R/ are recorded consistently in data collected for the counties of Gwynedd and Clwyd, as also are some sporadic occurrences of uvular (rolled and fricative) articulations. In the other counties, the fieldworkers have usually not made consistent distinction between rolled and flapped articulations, although both of these types are of course kept distinct from the fricative or frictionless-continuant articulations. For this reason, any entries for /R/ in the consonant notes in section (iii) below, "The Sound-Systems of Each of the Investigated Anglo-Welsh Dialects" will generally state only that /r/ is "rolled or flapped" in certain contexts, rather than distinguishing between the two types.

Full information about alveolar rolled, alveolar flapped, retroflex flapped, uvular fricative and uvular rolled articulations in Gwynedd and Clwyd is to be found in Robert J. Penhallurick, *The Anglo-Welsh Dialects of North Wales* (see especially §§ 3.50-3.54). But we reproduce here a sample of Penhallurick's recordings of /R/ realisations in some of the 144 Selected Words:

(i) /R/ has *alveolar rolled* realisations initially in **rabbits** Gn 3/9-10, Cl 5; **road** Gn 3/5-7/10, Cl 5/7; **roots** Gn 5-6/10, Cl 2/5/7; **wrong** Gn 3/7/10; medially in **bridge** Gn 3/7/10, **grass** Gn 4/10, Cl 2/5; **straw** Gn 5/9-10, Cl 4-5; **first** Cl 5; **forks** Gn 3/10, **third** Cl 5; finally in **boar** Gn 2/5/8-10, Cl 4-5; **butcher** Gn 3-5/10; **butter** Gn 3/5, Cl 1/7; **finger** Cl 5; **ladder** Gn 4-6/10, Cl 5; **shoulder** Gn 10.

(ii) /R/ has *alveolar flapped* realisations initially in **rabbits** Gn 1-2/5-6/8, Cl 4; **road** Gn 1/4/9; **roots** Gn 1-3/7-9, Cl 1-2; **wrong** Gn 1-2/6/9, Cl 4; medially in **pears** Gn 2-3/9; finally in **boar** Gn 1/3-4, Cl 7; **butcher** Gn 1/6/9, Cl 1/7; **butter** Gn 1/8; **finger** Gn 1/7, Cl 1/4; **ladder** Gn 1/7-8, Cl 4; **shoulder** Gn

2/5/7-9, Cl 7.

(iii) /R/ has *uvular rolled or flapped* realisation medially in *grass* Cl 5, *hear* Gn 7.

(iv) /R/ has *uvular fricative* articulation initially in *rabbits* Cl 7, medially in *buried* Gn 7, *furrow* Cl 7, *grass* Cl 7, *porridge* Gn 7, *straw* Cl 7, *trough* Cl 5.

(v) /R/ has *retroflex flapped* articulation medially in *pears* Gn 1; finally in *farmer*, *finger*, *fire* all at Gn 5, *hear* Gn 9.

2.205 /R/ is realised as long *fricative* [r:] in *quarry* SG 3, and as long *rolled* [r:] in *furrow* WG 2; *porridge* Dy 1/3, WG 2, MG 2; *quarry* WG 2, MG 2; *squirrel* WG 2.

/Y/

2.206 /Y/, realised as [j], appears initially in *ears* Gn 1/3, Cl 4, P 16/19/21/23-24/26, Dy 3-4/6/9-12/14/17/20/22/25, WG 1-3, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-4/6/8-9.

This /Y/ apparently represents a ME initial [j] in southerly dialects of south-western English, where the initial sound of ME *ġres* had become the rising diphthong [jɛ:] (cf.

Wright, *Elementary Middle English Grammar* §117). Wyld, *History of Modern Colloquial English* p.308, quotes a spelling of *ear* with initial *y* from Mrs Isham, *Verney Memoirs* iv.118 (1665). See also *SED* article VI 4 1

Initial /Y/ appears also in *gate* P 3.

/Y/ also appears initially, or in the initial combination /HY-/, in *hear* Gn 1, Cl 4, P 16/20-21/23-26, Dy 4-6/14/18/25, WG 1-2/4, MG 1-3, SG 1-4, Gw 1-4/6-8; *heard* P 25, Dy 4, MG 1, Gw 5-8; and medial /Y/ appears in *mare* /'ME:YΛ/ WG 5.

2.207 Initial /Y/ is lacking in *ewe* P 7/23, Dy 1, which have forms with initial /IY-/; P 7 has the form /U:/; and Cl 1/4, P 24, Dy 3/24, SG 1-2, Gw 7 all have /lu/. Initial /Y/ is lacking also in *year* Gn 4-5/9-10, Cl 2, P 2-3/5/8-9/13, Gw 9; and in *yeast* Gn 1-2/4-5/7-8/10, Cl 1-2/4, P 1/3-5/8-9/11/15-18/20-21/23-26, Dy 2-3/7/11-12/14-16/19-24, WG 1/3-6, MG 1-3, SG 1-2/4, Gw 4-5/7-9.

Medial /Y/ is lacking in *dew* Gn 1/4-5/7-10, Cl 1-2/4, P 6/13-16/19/23-24/26, Dy 9/16-18/21-24, WG 1/4/6, MG 1/3, SG 1-4, Gw 2-3/5/7-8; *Tuesday* Gn 1-2/4-5/9, Cl 1-2/4, P 13/18/23-24/26, Dy 6-9/15-17/21-24, WG 1, MG 3, SG 3, Gw 3/5/7. Both words have /lu/ in these dialects.